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JPRS-EPS-85-061

30 May 1985

19981105 123

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 May 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MILITARY BALANCE OF FORCES IN EUROPE ASSESSED

Vienna OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT in German Vol 23 No 1,  
Jan-Feb 85 pp 58-64

[Article by Mg: "The Stationing of Armed Forces in the Central Europe Sector"]

[Text] During the past few years, there have been several changes in organization and structure within some Western military contingents, and new data has been forthcoming on the armies of the Warsaw Pact [WP], which would seem to justify an inventory. In the British Army of the Rhine [BAOR], for example, a new organization was carried out, while the French 1st Army is still in the process of reorganizing. On the side of the WP, the delivery of SS-21, SS-22 and SS-23 surface-to-surface missiles has yielded new aspects. The following discourse should therefore be taken as a revision of an article<sup>1)</sup> appearing in the OeMZ [OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITUNG](Austrian Military Journal)] 1/1981.

In the Central Europe sector of NATO<sup>2)</sup>, there is a strength relationship (not counting reinforcements from the U.S.) of 24 divisions, 1 brigade, and 2 independent regiments on the NATO side (including all 12 German divisions) as opposed to 58 or 59 divisions of the WP. In a national defense emergency, the 6th Armored Infantry Division in Schleswig-Holstein will join the AFNORTH sector, but in these strength relationship figures it is opposed by WP units located up to the Baltic coast. Not included in the above figures, however, are units of territorial defense, border troops, and other paramilitary organizations. French units were likewise not included, since these do not come under NATO command.

To be kept in mind here is that the units designated as "divisions" diverge substantially with respect to size and combat strength. A comparison of these units therefore has only limited validity. Thus the American armored division has 17,800 men and 324 battle tanks assigned, that of the Bundeswehr has 17,000 men and 308 battle tanks, while a comparable Belgian division has considerable less fighting strength. The Soviet tank division, on the other hand, has circa 11,000 men and 331 tanks assigned, and the GDR tank division has circa 9,500 men and 325 tanks<sup>3)</sup>. There are likewise differences in the unit strengths in the other armies of the WP.

Even though it is often indicated in reports that all divisions in the three western Forward Area countries of the USSR allegedly belong to combat category I, other data indicates that, in particular, some Polish units are understrength.

Aside from the ratio cited above of 24 1/3:59 (= 1:2.42), the manning figures for the armies as a whole must also be considered. Using the personnel strength figures given by NATO in the troop reduction talks in Vienna, in which the French forces in the southwest part of the FRG are not considered (which they were in the division totals given above), a reduced ratio results, namely 1:1.26. Limited strictly to combat units, the ratio is allegedly 580,000 to 720,000<sup>4</sup>).

#### The Armed Forces in the FRG

Including France, the number of troops stationed in the FRG is almost 395,000 men, to which must be added circa 31,000 civilian employees (including the air force contingent); not counting France, the number is circa 346,000 men.

The units of the field army of the Bundeswehr comprise 6 armored division, 4 armored infantry divisions, 1 airborne and 1 mountain division. Brigades in existence are: 17 armored, 15 armored infantry, 3 airborne, and 1 mountain brigade. The reorganization in accordance with Army Structure 4 has in essence been completed. The airborne brigades now comprise 3 for the most part manned paratrooper battalions plus 1 battalions were strengthened to 34 Leopard-1 or M-48<sup>5</sup>) battle tanks, so that the armored division now had 308 battle tanks. The field and territorial armies number circa 335,600 men, including support units; circa 3,500 battle tanks are assigned to the field army.

The artillery as well is subject to changes, with the planned introduction of the medium-range rocket launcher system (MLRS) causing a shift of conventional artillery from the corps to the divisions. This is particularly true of the self-propelled carriage M-110 A2 (203mm). Divisional artillery is to consist in the future of 1 artillery battalion (2 batteries with FH-70, 155mm, 2 batteries of M-110 A2, 203mm), 1 multiple rocket launcher battalion (2 batteries of MARS, 2 batteries of LARS), as well as 1 observation battalion. Corps artillery currently consists of 2 heavy artillery battalions M-110 A2 (203mm) and a Lance missile artillery battalion, while divisional artillery regiments comprise 1 artillery battalion with 3 batteries of FH-70 (FH 155-1, 155mm) and 1 battery of M-110 A2 (203mm), 1 missile artillery battalion with 2 batteries (total of 16 launchers 110 SF), and 1 observation battalion<sup>6</sup>).

It should also be noted that the equipment of the corps with PAH-1 antitank helicopters--a total of 212 helicopters--was completed in 3 regiments and 1 independent squadron in September 1984. With respect to battle tanks, circa 1,100 Leopard-2, i.e. three lots, were assigned to line units by the end of 1984<sup>7</sup>). The delivery of the fourth and fifth lots will bring the number of Leopard-2 up to the planned total of 1,800 by March 1987.

In the territorial army, 6 home defense brigades were formed by mid-1984, the manning of which fluctuates between 52 and 85 percent and of which two (51st and 56th Brigades) have been subordinated to NATO already in peacetime. The unit employment chart for the field army shows that many divisions have elements scattered over wide areas and echeloned in depth, which would make assembly and forward movement difficult in time of need. This applies particularly to the 1st Mountain Division and the 5th, 7th, 10th and 12th Armored Divisions.

The American 7th Army (HQ in Heidelberg) with more than 200,000 men comprises the V and VII Corps with 4 divisions and 3 brigades, plus numerous army and corps-level units. Including the mothballed stocks of the "dual stationed" divisions, the 7th Army has circa 2,700 battle tanks, over 300 of them M-1. Their commander is at the same time commander of the Central Army Group (CENTAG), to which the two U.S. corps as well as the II and III Corps of the Bundeswehr and also the Canadian brigade combat group are subordinate.

The 3 brigades mentioned above (the 3rd of the 1st Mechanized Division, the 3rd of the 2nd Armored Division, and 1 brigade of the 4th Mechanized Division) constitute the forward-based elements of 3 divisions, which in times of crisis or a national defense emergency are to deploy to the FRG. In all, the reinforcements to be brought in comprise six divisions, four of which are to arrive in Europe within 10 days after being alerted, according to official statements. With these six divisions, the number of major army units of American armed forces in the FRG would increase to 10 divisions. Also planned is the movement of 30 squadrons of combat aircraft.

For the stockpiling and maintenance of the combat equipment needed by these divisions, a German-American agreement on "Wartime Host Nation Support" was signed on 15 April 1982, which obligates the German side to give support in the establishment of materiel stockpiles<sup>8</sup>). The measures taken for four divisions thus far are designated POMCUS ("pre-positioning of materiel configured to unit sets")<sup>9</sup>).

Half of the reinforcements planned for the future, i.e. three divisions, are intended for the formation of a U.S. III Corps in northern Germany, the other half for reinforcement of the U.S. V and VII Corps in the southern German area. The U.S. III Corps is to consist of the 2nd Armored, the 1st Cavalry, and the 5th Mechanized Infantry Divisions<sup>10</sup>), which took part in the "Reforger" exercise for the first time in September 1984. A total of 12 brigades are included in these divisions.

The strong army and corps units are located in the southwestern and Hessian areas and include, among others: 2 armored reconnaissance regiments, one each per corps; 5 artillery brigades, 2 of them in V Corps and 3 in VII Corps; 1 missile brigade with Pershing 2 medium-range missiles (headquarters in Mutlangen); 1 air defense command (Darmstadt) in division strength, consisting of 3 SAM brigades; as well as several engineer brigades.

With respect to location, one is struck by the fact that the 8th Mechanized Infantry Division (Bad Kreuznach) and elements of army-level units are stationed in relatively unfavorable areas, which in the event of a concentration of forces would result in time-consuming movements and operational problems. Thus, for example, elements of the German 12th Armored Division are located in the area which would have to be transited by the 3rd Mechanized Infantry Division (Wuerzburg) if this unit were to move to positions near the border. For that reason, efforts are being made to deploy elements of U.S. units stationed in unfavorable locations farther forward already in peacetime.

The I British Corps (HQ in Bielefeld), following its reorganization, will comprise 3 armored divisions with 8 brigades as well as numerous corps units, including 1 artillery division. Battle tanks number circa 750, including a number of the improved "Challenger." The current strength of circa 55,000 men is to be doubled if needed through augmentation with the 2nd Infantry Division (York), 1 brigades, and other reserves<sup>11)</sup>. The 6th Brigade (Soest), in a departure from the usual organization, is employed as an airmobile unit having a high antitank potential<sup>12)</sup>. In addition, the infantry battalions have been undergoing a general reorganization by three categories since April 1984. The newly developed armored personnel carrier [APC] MCV-80 will significantly increase the fighting power of the mechanized battalions.

A German-British agreement of December 1983 defines the support to be given by the Germans in transporting personnel and materiel, as well as other support measures, in the event of a reinforcement of the BAOR. The commander of the BAOR is at the same time commander of the Northern Army Group (NORTHAG) in Moenchengladbach, which in peacetime comprises, aside from the British contingent, one each German, Belgian and Netherlands corps as well as one U.S. brigade.

Belonging to the sector of the I British Corps are 13 main garrisons and numerous smaller garrisons. It extends from Moenchengladbach as far as the area of Soltau-Celle-Wolfenbuettel and overlaps with the areas in which the German 1st and 7th Armored Divisions as well as elements of the I Belgian Corps are stationed. Movement through the area of the 1st Armored Division is necessary in order to reach the defense sector near the border. This defense sector of the corps is given in military journals as having a width of 65 km.

The 1st Belgian Corps (HQ in Koeln-Weiden with its circa 25,000 men comprises two mechanized infantry divisions, of which only the 16th Division with 2 brigades (4th Armored Infantry Brigade/Soest, 17th Armored Brigade/Siegen), the corps units, as well as small elements of the 1st Division are stationed in the FRG in peacetime<sup>13)</sup>. The 1st Division (Verviers, Belgium) consists of 2 armored infantry brigades. The corps units, including 4 artillery, 3 engineer, and 3 reconnaissance battalions, are concentrated in the area Koeln-Spich-Werl and Aachen. The corps is equipped with a total of circa 330 Leopard-1 tanks.

Available as a reserve in Belgium are the 10th Armored Infantry Brigade and the 12th Infantry Brigade (Motorized), which depend [for their manning] on mobilization, however. According to official statements, the units of the I Corps can allegedly achieve combat readiness within 24 hours. Two Hawk battalions constitute the only Belgian representation in the NATO air defense belt. The Belgian corps has allegedly been assigned a defense sector circa 40 km wide.

The Netherlands Army with circa 65,000 men has only the reinforced 41st Armored Brigade (Seedorf near Hamburg) in northern Germany; all the other brigades, under the command of one corps and two divisions, are located on Netherlands soil. The tank inventory comprises circa 470 Leopard-1 and over 220 Leopard-2. In addition, there are 3 SAM battalions (Hawk, Nike Hercules) in Lower Saxony under a guided missile command (Bramsche) which constitute part of NATO's air defense belt. Modernization plans involve, among other things, the procurement of the Leopard-2 and the new APC YPR-765. In a national defense emergency, the bulk of the I Corps would have to deploy eastward across all of northern Germany in order to reach its assigned defense sector south of the Elbe, east of Luenenburg, on the right flank of the I German Corps.

Table: The Stationed Armed Forces (Including Air Force)

Federal Republic of Germany	Soldiers	Civilians
U.S. Army Europe	ca. 204,200	14,500
U.S. Air Force Europe	ca. 40,200	2,300
BAOR	55,000	2,300
Royal Air Force, Germany	10,200	100
I Belgian Corps	25,000	1,600
41st Armored Brigade, Reinforced (Netherlands)	ca. 5,500	50
Missile Group (Netherlands)	1,700	80
4th Mechanized Combat Group (Canada)	4,600	1,200
France: II Corps	ca. 48,500	9,000
Total (incl. II French Corps)	394,900	31,130

#### Soviet Forces

in the GDR (GSFG): 380,000 - 400,000 men  
in Poland (NGF): 40,000 - 45,000 men  
in the CSSR (CGF): 75,000 - 80,000 men

Canada provides the 4th Mechanized Brigade Combat Group (HQ in Lahr) with circa 4,600 men and slightly under 60 battle tanks; circa 2,500 men can presumably be moved in as reinforcements.



The French II Army Corps (HQ in Baden-Baden) with circa 48,500 men comes under the command of the 1st Army (Strasbourg) and comprises 3 armored divisions, which in accordance with the new organization have only the size of reinforced brigades (combat units: 2 armored battalions, 2 mechanized infantry battalions, 1 mixed infantry battalion; a total of circa 8,000 men and 174 tanks). However, for reasons of tradition the "division" designation was kept. Because of the new organization, the corps will have 522 battle tanks in the future<sup>15)</sup>.

According to various statements, the primary mission of the corps is to secure and/or defend, together with the I Army Corps, the strategic approaches and lines of movement to eastern France. Contrary to views held in the past, the intention of taking over a NATO sector under certain conditions as part of the defense plan appears to have been given up.

After relinquishing units for the formation of the "rapid strike force" (FAR), the I Army Corps will consist only of the 7th and 10th Armored Divisions as well as the 14th "Training" Division and the 15th Infantry Division. Both army corps depend in part on mobilization [for full manning]. The "rapid strike force" currently being formed--5 divisions with a total of 47,000 men--is to be employed both as a strategic reserve in the European theater of operations and for overseas operations. The total strength of the army is just under 305,000 men, with 1,260 battle tanks. The headquarters of the III Army Corps with 2 divisions is located in Lille.

#### Armed Forces in the GDR

The National People's Army has army units with a strength of circa 120,000 men, with circa 1,500 tanks assigned to active units and circa 1,600 stored in depots. The army consists of 2 tank and 4 motorized rifle divisions as well as various army units, including, among others: 2 artillery regiments, 2 missile (SCUD) brigades, 2 SAM regiments, 3 engineer regiments, 1 airborne battalion. Also subordinate to military control are the border units (circa 45,000 men), which are organized in 18 grenadier regiments, which owing to a continuing reorganization are being consolidated into large units similar to motorized rifle divisions<sup>16)</sup>. Although the border units are subordinate to military control, they are not part of the regular armed forces.

In addition, there are reports about 3 or 4 reserve divisions which following mobilization can either be used to reinforce units at the front or as security units in the rear area. All 6 active divisions are in readiness category I of the WP, with 3 each stationed in Military District III (Leipzig) and V (Neubrandenburg). There are 5 military districts in all. The entire National People's Army is subordinate to the headquarters of the WP already in peacetime. Structure and size of the major units are very similar to those of major Soviet units, although their manning is slightly less than the Soviet norm (tank division: 9,500 to 10,000 men; motorized rifle division: 12,000 men)<sup>17)</sup>.

Although the bulk of the battle tanks consist of T-54/55, a step-by-step re-equipment with T-72 tanks can be noted. An additional motorized rifle company has recently appeared in the tank regiment of both types of divisions as the

infantry component, while the motorized rifle division has for years had an independent tank battalion. The armored infantry combat vehicles BMP are used in the infantry elements of the tank division. The two SCUD missile brigades are located in Demen and Hermsdorf, each subordinate to an army headquarters<sup>18)</sup>.

The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) constitutes the strongest Soviet concentration of forces in the western Forward Area, with a total strength of 380,000 to 400,000 men. Following the withdrawal of the 6th Guards Tank Division in the fall of 1979, it now numbers 9 tank and 10 motorized rifle divisions with numerous army-level and Soviet Army units<sup>19)</sup>. The following army staffs are in existence:

- 8th Guards Army/Weimar
- 1st Guards Tank Army/Dresden
- 3rd Shock Army/Magdeburg
- 20th Guards Army/Eberswalde
- 2nd Guards Army/Fuerstenberg

The headquarters of the GSFG, like that of the tactical air forces, is located in Zossen-Wuensdorf. The 16th Tactical Air Army which existed until recently was reportedly disbanded as part of a reorganization of the air forces in their former state<sup>20)</sup>. Reports on the number of battle tanks range between 6,400 and 7,000; including reserve tanks in depots, a total of circa 8,000 tanks in the GSFG can be assumed. As a departure from the normal organization, many of the Soviet tank divisions in the GSFG are now allegedly equipped with 415 battle tanks, which according to older reports can be attributed to the assignment of 3 additional tank companies in the tank regiments. In addition, each tank regiment in the tank division has a motorized rifle battalion or a motorized rifle company at its disposal for use as an infantry force.

Since the late 1970's a large part of the motorized rifle regiments and also part of the tank regiments have been equipped with an artillery battalion (18 self-propelled [SP] or gun-howitzers, 122mm). There were also equipment increases in the artillery regiment of the divisions: many regiments now allegedly consist of 4 artillery battalions, circa 2 with 152mm and 2 with 122mm weapons, or a total of 72 guns<sup>21)</sup>. The SS-21 battalions being introduced to replace the FROG rocket battalions now probably have 6 missiles assigned.

According to reports, the divisions of the 1st Guards Army, the 8th Guards Army, and 3rd Shock Army were allegedly equipped with the SS-21 missile by the end of May 1984<sup>22)</sup>. The multiple rocket launchers BM-21 (18 launchers with forty 122mm tubes each per battalion) are being gradually replaced by the successor model BM-27 with a caliber of 240mm.

With respect to army artillery, artillery brigades at army level and artillery divisions at front level should be mentioned. In the artillery brigades, an increase in the inventory is now allegedly under way to 2 battalions of 130mm (36 guns), 2 battalions of SP or gun-howitzers, 152mm (36 guns), and 1



battalion of multiple rocket launchers BM-27; in individual armies there can also be one battalion of 100mm guns for defense against tanks. In addition, an army has a SCUD missile launch brigade, i.e., 2 to 3 battalions with 6 launchers each, which are being replaced by SS-23 missiles having a range of circa 500 km.

Other army-level units include: 1 SAM brigade, 1 engineer brigade, as well as 1 independent tank regiment with 125 battle tanks, which in 5 armies yields 5 additional tank regiments in the GSFG.

For the creation of an artillery concentration within the frame-work of a Front, particularly the artillery division must be considered (HQ in Potsdam). This consists of 3 or 4 artillery brigades, including one with 152mm SP howitzers and one with BM-27 multiple rocket launchers. In addition, the introduction of a 203mm SP gun, which is also nuclear-capable, has been recently reported. The SS-12/SCALEBOARD missiles have been largely replaced by SS-22 missiles (range up to 1,000 km), 2 brigades of which allegedly arrived in the GSFG and 1 brigade in the CSSR by October 1984<sup>23</sup>). According to reports, over 100 SS-22 are stationed in the GDR and the CSSR.

In conclusion, reference is made to the special units having the designation "Spetsnaz" and specialized in commando and sabotage operations. They allegedly appear in company strength within "air assault brigades" and are stationed with nearly all the armies of the GSFG<sup>24</sup>). According to other reports, the GSFG has an airborne brigade for special operations (Neuruppin) as well as 8 Special units in battalion strength.

If one looks at the distribution of the National People's Army and GSFG units, one notices that the Soviet divisions are concentrated in the area around Berlin and in addition provide the bulk of the troops stationed near the border--if one leaves the CDR border command troops out of consideration. (For the Czechoslovakian People's Army and the Central Group of Forces (CGF), see OeMZ 4/1984, pp 349-351.)

Various reports justify the conclusion that in wartime the creation of 2 Front commands ("Coastal Front", "Central Front") on the territory of the GDR and 1 Front command ("Southwest Front") on the territory of the CSSR can be anticipated.

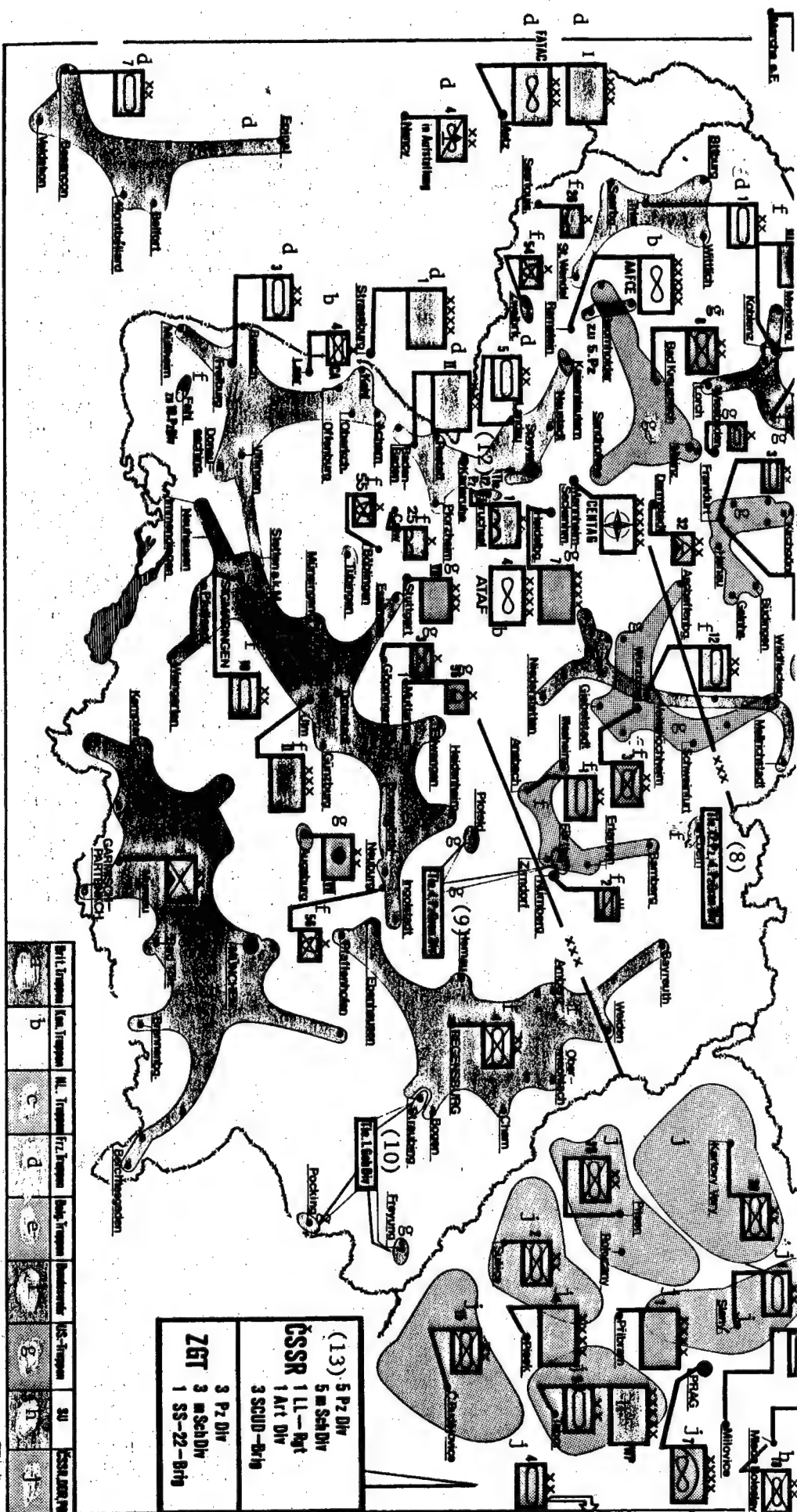
#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) "Federal Republic of Germany/German Democratic Republic: National Units and Stationed Troops," in OeMZ 1/1981, p 58
- 2) NATO: FRG, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg; Warsaw Pact: GDR, CSSR, Poland (as a geographic depiction of the areas)
- 3) Compiled from: "White Book 1983," published by the Federal Minister of Defense, Bonn 1983; Thomas M. Forster, "The National People's Army," 6th Edition, Cologne 1983, p 139; various issues of "MILITARY BALANCE," IISS London

- 4) Anthony Cordesman, "The NATO Central Region and the Balance of Uncertainty," in: ARMED FORCES JOURNAL INTERNATIONAL, July 1983, p 23
- 5) TRUPPENDIENST [Field Service] 4/1984, p 435
- 6) Franz-Josef Wiesner, "Einsatzgrundsätze und Ausrüstung der Artillerie Heute und in Naher Zukunft" [Operational Principles and Artillery Equipment Today and in the Near Future], in: KAMPFTRUPPEN [Combat Troops] 5/1984, pp 186/87; Werner Meyer, "Artillerie im Wandel" [Artillery in Transition], in: WEHRTECHNIK [Military Technology] 10/1983, p 38
- 7) WEHRTECHNIK 8/1984, p 44. A total of 2,280 battle tanks of type Leopard-2 were ordered by the Bundeswehr as well as by the Netherlands and Switzerland
- 8) OeMZ 4/1982, p 334; "White Book 1983," p 131
- 9) FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG [FAZ], 12 September 1984, p 7: White Book 1983, p 132
- 10) "The Front Line in Europe," in: ARMED FORCES JOURNAL INTERNATIONAL, May 1984, p 71
- 11) "Die Britischen Streitkräfte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" [The British Armed Forces in the FRG], in: OeMZ 6/1984, ALLGEMEINE RUNDSCHAU [General Survey], p 557
- 12) In this connection, see FAZ, 29 September 1984, p 6 ("The Maneuver is Deterrence through Actions: The Blues Win Again in Lionhearted")
- 13) Norman L. Dodd, "The Belgian Armed Forces," in: DEFENCE, March 1982, p 109 ff; TRUPPENDIENST 4/1984, p 441
- 14) See in this connection: "Niederlande: Umfang und Gliederung der Streitkräfte" [Netherlands: Size and Structure of Armed Forces], in OeMZ 6/1984, p 559
- 15) OeMZ 5/1983, p 451; OeMZ 5/1984, p 462
- 16) "DDR: Neuerungen bei den Grenztruppen und Grenzsicherung" [GDR: Changes in the Border Command and Border Security], in OeMZ 6/1982, p 526
- 17) Thomas M. Forster, Die NVA [The National People's Army], 6th Edition, Cologne 1983, pp 138/39
- 18) John Keegan, "Armies of the World," 2nd Edition, London 1983, p 202
- 19) See, relative to this and what follows: Ullrich Ruehmland, "Die Gruppe der Sowjetischen Streitkräfte in Deutschland" [The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany], in: ASMZ 7/8/1982, p 391 ff
- 20) JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 28 April 1984, p 648
- 21) C.J. Dick, "Integrierte Kampfführung" [Integrated Combat Operations], in INTERNATIONALE WEHRREVUE [International Military Review] 12/1983, p 1719 ff; see also: H.v. Dach, "Die Artillerie des Sowjetischen Heeres" [The Artillery of the Soviet Army], in: SCHWEIZER SOLDAT [Swiss Soldier] 10/83, p 21 ff
- 22) Die Welt, 29 May 1984, p 1
- 23) FAZ, 3 October 1984, p 4: NZZ [Neue Zürcher Zeitung], 5 October 1984, p 5 ("Neue Sowjetraketen in the DDR und der CSSR" [New Soviet Missiles in the GDR and the CSSR])
- 24) ASMZ, 5/1984, p 269



Key on Next Page



### Key to Map

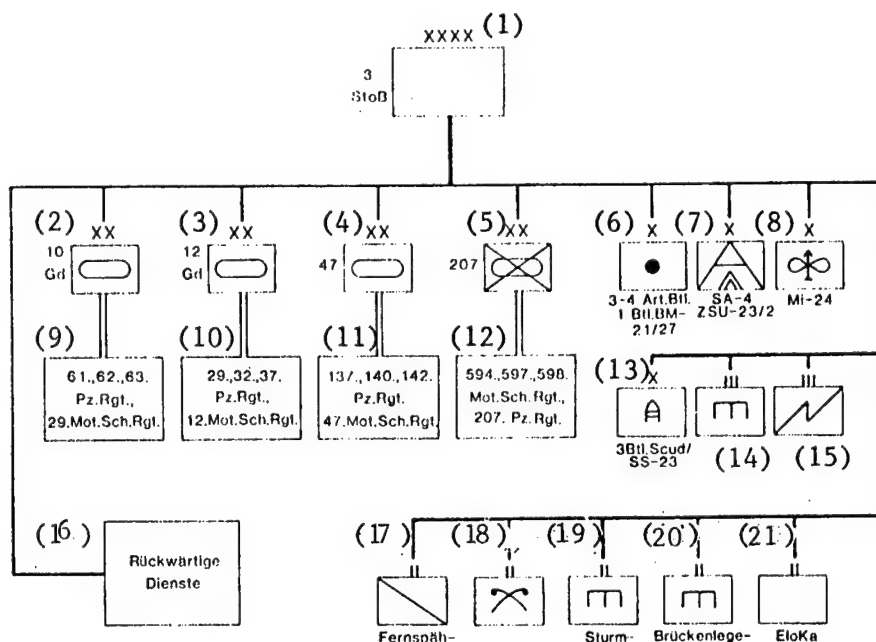
1. Poland
  - 5 Tank Div
  - 8 Mtz Rifle Div
  - 1 Abn Div
  - 1 Naval Inf Div
  - 3 Arty Bde
  - 4 SCUD Bde
  - Northern Group of Forces
  - 2 Tank Div
  - 1 Mtz Rifle Div
2. Military District
3. Air Force Headquarters
4. Border Command Headquarters
5. Border Command North
6. Tactical air Army
7. Border Command South
8. Elements, 12 Tank and 4th Armored Infantry Div
9. Elements, 4th Armored Infantry Division
10. Elements, 1st Alpine Division
11. Elements, 7th Tank Division
12. Elements, 12th Tank Division
13. CSSR
  - 5 Tank Div
  - 5 Mtz Rifle Div
  - 1 Abn Div
  - 1 Arty Div
  - 3 SEUD Bde
  - Central Group Forces
  - 3 Tank Div
  - 3 Mtz Rifle Div
  - 1 SS-22 Bde

### Caption to Map

#### Stationed and National Troops in the Central Europe Sector (Excerpt)

The sketch shows the national forces as well as the various forces stationed on the territory of the FRG, the GDR, and the western CSSR. Shown for the NATO side, in essence, are the deployment areas of the divisions, the independent brigades, as well as other troop units located some distance from the main body of the commanding division. In depicting the deployment areas, the garrisons of the subordinate brigades, regiments, and in some cases also battalions have been taken into account. Also shown are the separately stationed (forward-based) brigades of the U.S. Army in the FRG, which have their parent division in the U.S. Clearly evident from the sketch is the overlapping of many areas of deployment, which says nothing about the individual command areas, however. The sequence of corps sectors from north to south is as follows: I Netherlands Corps; I German Corps; I British Corps; I Belgian

Corps; III German Corps; V U.S. Corps; VII U.S. Corps; II German Corps. The 6th Armored Infantry Division will join the forces of the AFNORTH sector in a national defense emergency. Only the higher headquarters have been shown for the air and air defense forces. On the side of the Warsaw Pact, the sketch shows, in essence, the divisional and army headquarters as well as the higher headquarters of the air forces in the GDR. In the western CSSR, the deployment areas of the Czechoslovakian divisions are also shown. It should be borne in mind that in addition, there are numerous army and Front units which are not shown on the sketch. The strength of the forces in Poland and in the CSSR are shown in the inset. For more details on the national troops in the GDR, CSSR and Poland, see OeMZ 2/1978, pp 98-106, and OeMZ 4/1984, pp 349-351.



Example of the Organization of a major Soviet unit, the 3rd Shock Army (headquarters in Magdeburg)

# Key

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 3rd Shock Army   | 12. 594th, 597th, 598th Mtz Rifle Rgmt |
| 2. 10th Guard Div   | 13. SCUD Bde (3Bn SCUD/SS-23)          |
| 3. 12 Guard Div   | 14. Engineer Rgmt                      |
| 4. 47th Tank Div  | 15. Signal Rgmt                        |
| 5. 207th Mtz Rifle Div                                    | 16. Rear area support                  |
| 6. Arty Bde   | 17. Reconnaissance Bn                  |
| 7. Air Defense Bde  | 18. Chemical Bn                        |
| 8. Assault Helicopter Bde                                 | 19. Combat Engineer Bn                 |
| 9. 61,62,63 Tank Rgmts,<br>29th Mtz Rifle Rgmt            | 20. Bridge-laying Bn                   |
| 10. 29th, 32nd 37th Tank Rgmts<br>12th Mtz Rifle Rgmt     | 21. Electronic Warfare Bn              |
| 11. 137th, 140th, 142nd Tank Rgmt,<br>47th Mtz Rifle Rgmt |  |

12689

CSO: 2300/343



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SFRY HISTORIAN VIEWS BULGARIA'S WW II CONTRIBUTION

LDO61059 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1709 GMT 5 May 85

[Text] Skoplje, May 5 (TANJUG)--In the struggle which they started in 1941 Yugoslav nations and nationalities were practically alone in Europe. It was only late in 1944 that the Yugoslav Army linked with allied armies in Italy by a front in the country's north-west and with Soviet armies at the eastern front and as a link between them as an equal participant in the anti-Hitlerite struggle.

Academician Mihajlo Apostolski, war-time commander of general headquarters of the National Liberation Army and partisan detachments of Macedonia, retired col. general, historian and publicist, stated this in his interview to TANJUG on the occasion of May 9--the day of victory over Nazism in 1945.

Speaking about battles which preceded the country's final liberation, and about senseless assertions that others brought freedom to it, Apostolski emphasizes that Yugoslavia was "an equal warring power." He points out, that recognition of the Yugoslav contribution in the war is "no sentimentality of the allies, but a concrete historical fact."

Apostolski says that in the autumn of 1943 and early in 1944 there were even 45 enemy divisions in the Yugoslav territory, and that Yugoslavia had about 800 thousand combatants at the end of the war, while about 305 thousand combatants from the armed formations fell in the national liberation war. Besides, there were 1,700,000 victims of fascism.

"We waged war independently," Apostolski says. "We began to receive aid only starting with 1943, and it was sufficient to arm only a small part of our army."

Some of the allies want to present that their aid was a decisive factor, Apostolski says. "Moral-political aid from the allies was of much greater significance to us, and those were their successes at fronts. It was incentive to persevere under exceptionally difficult conditions under which we were waging war.

"We wrote history by victims and by blood, and nobody has the right to misappropriate and distort it," Apostolski says. He adds in this context that



on behalf of "daily politicastering needs," after the resolution of the Cominform of the Soviet Union and countries of people's democracy in 1948 and 1949, the Yugoslav role in World War Two was equalized with Bulgaria's, which was an ally of Hitler's Germany.

Academician Apostolski says that "till September 1944 Bulgaria was the invader of Macedonia, South-east Serbia, northern and eastern regions of Greece, but that it writes volumes about every event, even the smallest, which suits it, and present them all over the world." Thence some Soviet historians even say that Bulgaria was not invader.

However, Academician Apostolski emphasizes, the armed struggle of the Bulgarian proletariat against the imperialist state started only in 1943 and Yugoslavs gave it maximum aid.

The new Bulgarian army was formed of several divisions which happened to be in Bulgaria not disarmed, then of partisans there and of a number of volunteers. According to Bulgarian sources, that army had about 400 thousand men, and partisans and volunteers about 50 thousand. Commanding personnel remained the same. "There are many examples of that personnel being even promoted," the academician says.

Supreme Commander of the Yugoslav Army Marshal Tito endeavoured to create in the entire Balkan territory conditions for cooperation between peoples, therefore he permitted to the Bulgarian army to participate in final struggles in the Yugoslav territory. However, Apostolski emphasizes, "Bulgarian contribution to the Yugoslav victory is so little that it can be easily disregarded."

It is surprising, Apostolski says, why Bulgaria does not give a single document on the activity of its fascist army. He asks himself: "Does it mean that a socialist state, which bases its organization on Marxist stand on society and history, protects its own counterrevolution?" Perhaps Bulgaria has not got rid of aspirations of the imperial regime, and on the basis of it it does not recognize Macedonia, but now proclaims together with it, a part of Kosovo, south-eastern and eastern parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, up to Belgrade, for Bulgarian ethnic territory. Perhaps this stand should be viewed as an endeavour to exaggerate the alleged Bulgarian participation in liberation of Yugoslavia," Academician Mihajlo Apostolski said among other things in his extensive interview to TANJUG.

CSO: 2800/319

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORTER QUESTIONS USSR VIEW OF SFRY WW II ROLE

AU061537 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 85

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, a press conference has been held in Moscow at which General Zhilin, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, spoke about the contribution of the allied armies and of individual countries in World War II. VJESNIK correspondent Bogoljub Lacmanovic reports from Moscow:

The Soviet Union does not equate the Yugoslav peoples' struggle with the contribution by other countries in breaking up Hitler's fascism, Academician General Pavel Zhilin stated at the press conference today, answering the direct question by this correspondent on why there have been articles in the Soviet press recently written by high military leaders in which the Yugoslav liberation struggle is called a resistance movement or is equated with the contribution of those countries that were on Hitler's side until the summer of 1944. The Yugoslav people entered the struggle at the very beginning, 1941, Gen Zhilin stated, and this movement, under the leadership of Marshal Tito and aided by the allies, particularly the Soviet Union, grew into a powerful liberation organization.

Avoiding a direct answer to the question, Gen Zhilin said that, not observing an alphabetical order, the Soviet Union places the contribution of Yugoslavia in first place, then of Poland, and then the other countries. Admitting possibility that, as he put it, Yugoslavia can be found together with the countries that joined the struggle later, Zhilin explained that what is involved are articles that do not rank the contribution of these countries in the struggle against Hitler, and that these articles are then tendentiously interpreted in Yugoslavia.

Marshal Petrov, first deputy minister of defense, who was the main interlocutor of domestic and foreign correspondents at today's conference, which was organized on the occasion of the forthcoming observation of victory day, confirmed that preparations for the festivity had been complete for a long time and that guests had started arriving in Moscow. Heads of East European countries will not attend the festivity, but these countries will be represented by high-level delegations.

Today's press conference has also removed the dilemma of whether Volgograd will resume Stalin's name on the occasion of victory day, which was much talked about in Moscow in past months. There will be no change of Volgograd's name now, Marshal Petrov said concisely to the direct question.

CSO: 2800/319

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIAN TV DAILY ON ALBANIAN WORKERS ASSETS

AU081439 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 May 85 p 4

[Atanas Nedelchev article: "Jubilee of the Workers Class"]

[Text] The Albanian workers class celebrated for the 60th time the holiday of labor--1 May--in 1985. This year the Albanian people will also celebrate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of their trade unions.

These anniversaries are a good opportunity to assess past achievements and successes. In the years of socialist construction in Albania the proportion of the workers class has increased by as many as 32 times. While the number of workers and employees in 1938 was 22,000, today the number of workers (including those engaged in state-owned agricultural farms) amounts to more than 700,000 in a population which has reached nearly 3 million.

The increased role of the Albanian workers class in the construction of socialism is also a characteristic feature of life in this country. No less important is another index which eloquently demonstrates the qualitative changes that have occurred in the labor potential of the country. While the correlation between workers and white-collar workers was 66.3 to 33.7 in 1950, today it is 81.9 to 18.1. Today the proportion of men and women who are capable of working and at working age (from 15 to 60 years of age for men, and from 15 to 155 years for women) is 50.7 percent and 56.4 percent of the entire population.

Statistical data show the particularly active participation of Albanian women in all sectors of sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life. As to qualitative changes in the labor potential of Albania, we must point out the considerable increase of specialists who have graduated from higher and secondary specialized schools. In 1938 there were only 380 specialist graduates of higher education institutions in Albania, and approximately 2,000 with secondary specialized education, while by the end of 1983, these figures amounted to 55,910 and 187,000 people respectively.

As a result of the selfless efforts of the Albanian workers class and of all working people, the Albanian people enjoy numerous social assets. The needs of the working people, such as education, medical care, housing, and others are free of charge or of minimal expense for the people. A large network of recreation and recuperation facilities has been established.

Under the conditions of socialist construction the Albanian workers class and the other working people, liberated from capitalist oppression and exploitation, are the masters of their own country. They are actively participating in solving the tasks of socioeconomic development in the organization of production, and in developing education and culture. The socialist system opened the path toward creative initiative for all working people in Albania.

A number of collectives, such as the "Enver Hoxha" tractor combine, the "Misto Mame" timber processing combine at Tirana, the "Petro Papi" plant in Korca, and others have come up with initiatives for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of annual and 5-year plans. Thousands of working people have joined the movement "Shock Worker 1985" and "Seventh 5-Year Plan."

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Albanian trade unions and the 60th anniversary of the first celebration of the militant holiday of labor, the trade union organizations in Albania are assuming commitments for raising their organizational and educational work with the workers' collectives to an even higher level, for increasing discipline, improving labor productivity, and reducing production costs, as well as for increasing production efficiency. In this manner they are contributing to the successful implementation of the tasks assigned by the last and decisive year of their Seventh 5-Year Plan.

CSO: 2200/142

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

**CUBAN-BULGARIAN BILATERAL TRADE**--Cuba and Bulgaria have signed trade contracts for 1986 totalling more than R27 million. The import/export documents were signed during Cuban Day at the Fifth International Spring Fair of the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv; the fair was dedicated to consumer goods. Under the terms of the contracts signed, Cuba will receive restaurant equipment, toys, lilies, porcelain and glass ware, plastics, pharmaceuticals, food products, and other products. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 11 May 85 FL]

**BULGARIAN-POLISH TRADE COOPERATION**--On 10 May in Sofia a memorandum was signed on the talks conducted between a delegation of the Bulgarian Ministry of Production and Trade With Consumer Goods, and a delegation of Poland's Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. The memorandum points out that new forms for strengthening cooperation between the two ministries have been determined. Special attention has been devoted to the possibility of expanding the exchange of trade between the two fraternal countries' fraternal cities. The document was signed by Georgi Karamanov, deputy minister of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and trade with consumer goods, and by Anna Kedzierska, Poland's minister of domestic trade and services. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 May 85 AU]

**TODOROV-LED DELEGATION FROM MOSCOW**--On 10 May, the Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Otanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and National Assembly chairman, returned from Moscow. The delegation had taken part in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Comrades Pencho Kubadinov and Dimitur Stanishev, and by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 May 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/142

**BULGARIA**

**LEADERS' PUBLIC APPEARANCES 4-10 MAY MAY**

AU111853 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 4 to 11 May, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts given in parentheses):

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, attended a public meeting in the town of Shumen to mark the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. (1930 GMT 6 May)

Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended an international scientific conference devoted to the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. (0800 GMT 7 May)

Georgi Yordanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee on Culture, attended the opening of a Soviet art exhibition in Sofia, devoted to Soviet soldiers' exploits in World War II. (1730 GMT 8 May) Yordanov also presented an award to the collective of the "Georgi Dimitrov" printing shop in Sofia for winning a socialist competition. (1930 GMT 10 May)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a celebration of Bulgarian economists on their holiday in Sofia, addressing the meeting with remarks on the Bulgarian economists' contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism in Bulgaria. (1730 GMT 10 May)

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of energy and raw material resources, attended a meeting of workers collectives in Ruse and presented them with the "Red Banner of Labor Glory" for their successes. (1930 GMT 10 May)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting of chemical industry workers in Gabrova, who celebrated their holiday. (1730 GMT 10 May)

CSO: 22067142

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE

AU081402 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] A great scientific event took place at the "Varna" Grand Hotel in The "Druzhba" resort yesterday. Hundreds of scientists from numerous countries, and representatives of six international organizations gathered here to attend the international conference devoted to the subject: "Children in the Century of Information. Tomorrow's Problems Viewed Today."

Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Committee of Culture, and Vladimir Zhivkov, chairman of the International "Lyudmila Zhivkova" Foundation, as well as Dr Abdul Razak Kandura [spelling as transliterated], deputy director general of UNESCO, and John Atanasov, the inventor of the first computer in the world, also attended the conference.

At the festive opening session the guests listened with great attention to the following greetings letter from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, which was read by Comrade Georgi Yordanov:

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades, it is a pleasure for me to greet and welcome you on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on my own behalf. I welcome all of you, and with all my heart I wish you success in your exceptionally interesting work.

We are pleased precisely by the fact that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is playing host to such an authoritative conference which is taking place in the present International Year of Youth. We are pleased that this is one of the first conferences of its kind in the world, a conference attended by scientists from East and West, as well as from the developing countries. We are pleased that among you, the outstanding representatives of world science, there is our compatriot, Mr John Atanasov, who invented the first computer in the world.

We are particularly glad that the organizers of the conference and of the exhibition taking place in Varna are UNESCO, the WHO, and the International Institute of Applied System Analysis, as well as the International "Lyudmila Zhivkova" Foundation. The participation of such well-known international organization and institutions speaks for itself and shows the importance of the problems the solution of which you are dealing with.



Throughout several days, you, scientists from different countries, will discuss questions of the application of computers in the education, training, and development of children. I think that the most important of all these questions is how we will use the opportunities offered by the computers for the development of the young generation. How can we best succeed in helping the children, along with mastering the new technical equipment, to develop those natural and most valuable human virtues such as honesty, industriousness, and respect for the labor of others? I believe that you, who are specialists in this field, share my deep conviction that we must encourage the education of children in a spirit of peace, understanding, and friendship.

Within the framework of its possibilities, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is developing energetic work in the field of electronics and informatics. We are implementing a national program for the training and work of young people with computer equipment, for the mass applications of a second literacy, a computer literacy in education. I hope that the Bulgarian organizers and participants in the conference will give you the opportunity to become acquainted with everything that socialist Bulgaria is accomplishing in the field of the questions you are discussing. I am convinced that in the process of this acquaintance you will find new common features, and that opportunities will be opened for a future, fruitful cooperation.

I would once more like to express my pleasure and my confidence in the success of your conference and to wish you all good health, strength, and new creative achievements!

CSO: 2200/142



BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV AWARDS DIMITROV PRIZE TO JAPANESE PROFESSOR

AU102107 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Prof Shigeoiyshi Matsumae, president and chairman of the Administrative Council of Tokyo University, paid a visit to Bulgaria.

During his visit to our country the distinguished Japanese scholar and public figure was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, who presented him with the International Dimitrov Prize.

In his speech during the festive ceremony Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared::

[Begin Zhivkov recording]: Esteemed Professor Matsumae, it is a pleasure for me, at the behest of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to present you today with the International Dimitrov Prize. This great distinction is awarded to outstanding public figures, politicians, and cultural leaders, who have devoted their lives and work to the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. Permit me to express the respect which we have for you, a distinguished scholar and true fighter for peace and understanding among peoples. This respect is shared by Bulgarian scientists, scholars, and public figures, by all your friends in our country. Your energetic efforts are devoted to the development and intensification of international cooperation in the field of science and technology, in the fields of education, arts, and sports. As the founder and leader of numerous educational institutions, organizations, and schools which are active in the sector of scientific-technological progress and in the cultural sphere, you enjoy well-deserved prestige and recognition.

Mr Matsumae, the science to which you have devoted your life opens the widest prospects to human development. Unfortunately, some circles are trying to use the achievements of this science in order to jeopardize the very existence of human civilization. The fate of mankind demands that we assume even greater responsibility for the future. We have no right to underestimate the importance of our responsibility in facing the danger of a worldwide thermonuclear conflict. It is natural that our present and future generations should devote themselves to peaceful and constructive labor, and we must do everything within our power in order to make this aspiration triumphant. Against such aspirations is directed the aggressive policy of the imperialist forces, which are trying to force the arms race and are preparing the development of new destructive weapons,

including space weapons. It is our duty, the duty of all statesmen, politicians, public figures, scientists, and cultural figures, the duty of all people of good will, to increase and unite our efforts for the sake of peace, for the sake of life. It is our noble duty to educate our young generations, to train them in the spirit of lasting human virtues and to give them ever-increasing opportunities for mutual acquaintance and active mutual relations.

You, Professor Matsumae, are well acquainted with Bulgaria, the homeland of Georgi Dimitrov, and I am convinced that you appreciate its peaceful initiatives and efforts. It is a pleasure for me to take advantage of this festive opportunity in order to point out once more your contribution to the consolidation of Bulgarian-Japanese cooperation. The people of Bulgaria wish to maintain good, friendly relations with your talented and industrious people. Esteemed Professor Matsumae, you are a winner of the International Dimitrov Prize because you combine the varied interests and virtues of a great scientist, as well as the convictions of a consistent peace fighter. In presenting you with this high award, I wish you with all my heart, good health and energy, new successes in your scientific and public affairs activities, and happiness in your personal life. Congratulations on the Dimitrov Prize.  
[end recording]

In answering the greeting address, Prof Matsumae expressed his great gratitude for the honor bestowed on him, and said:

[Begin Matsumae recording in Japanese, fading into translation] Together with you, Esteemed Mr Chairman of the State Council, and with my numerous Bulgarian friends, who represent different circles of the Bulgarian public, I am devoting my efforts to the development of friendly relation between our two countries, as well as to the intensification of cooperation between East and West. The present international situation still requires great efforts for the preservation of universal peace. I take advantage of this opportunity in order to point out, with a feeling of emotion, my readiness to continue to make my contribution to the cause of peace. [end recording]

The festive ceremony of the presentation was attended by Comrade Georgi Yordanov, by Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and by other officials.

CSO: 2200/142

31 May 1985

## BULGARIA

## TIR DRIVERS HARASSED BY TURKISH POLICE

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 24 Apr 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

**Kapitan Andreevo. From our special envoy Lev Kokushkin**

am at the very international order. Bulgaria is behind my back, the fields of Greece are clearly visible to the right, and a Turkish frontier guard stands at more than 50 m away. Here, our checkpoint Kapitan Andreevo, is the meeting place of these three Balkan countries, ought together rather than separated by the Maritsa river. I can see the almost uninterrupted flow of motor cars and heavy trucks heading for

Turkey and the Near and Middle East, or transiting Bulgaria for Central and Western Europe. It is quite a job to be sitting for hours on end behind the wheel of a vehicle with more than 20 tons in the cargo box.

All sorts of contingencies may happen during the many days of travel abroad. In recent months the drivers of the Bulgarian Economic Association International Automobile Transport (SOMAT), who cross Turkey for Iran, Iraq, Syria and other countries, have been faced with an additional problem: the

Turkish traffic police.

"Chum, give baksheesh"

"... Two black cars with the white bands of traffic police caught my TIR in a pincerlike manoeuvre not far from Ankara," says Nikolai Nichev, SOMAT trucker from Sofia. The cop of the car behind came up first: "Chum, give thousand lira baksheesh!" I give the money, I start off and I am straight away waved down by the front car. The procedure is identical.

Nikolai shows me 21 tickets

for all sorts of "violations" he has committed to the total value of 220,500 Turkish Lira (1 US dollar approximately equals 450 lira). Nichev was returning to Bulgaria from Iran via Turkey together with his colleague from Rousse Simeonov, who this time "got away" with no more than 14 tickets for the "insignificant" sum of 93,500 lira. One of his tickets registered 12 violations at a time (including the uprooting of roadside trees). "I have crossed Turkey some two dozen of times, but that was the

most outrageous of my experiences," he says. "And yet I think I was lucky. The point is that my vehicle is white, which is not typical of the SOMAT trucks, and the traffic police officers must have taken me for anybody but a Bulgarian."

That day the "record holder" was Zhivko Yovchev from Sofia, who in 80 km was fined 23 times by the traffic police, and one of his tickets relieved him of 70,000 lira. "I can't stand it any more to drive across that country," he complains. "Even when I fall asleep, my dreams are filled with the traffic police white caps. And this is quite understandable, since when he waves you down, the cop makes a show of taking his gun out of the holster and simply asks you for a "baksheesh" or a fine of 30,000 and more lira.

### How long will SOMAT be solvent?

"I think this is precisely the aim of the Turkish traffic police officers: to scare our truckers," says Yancho Yanev, chief of the SOMAT bureau in Kapitan An

dreevo. "And to squeeze as much money as they can from our association. In less than two months the Bulgarian drivers "handed out" some two million dollars in fines and "baksheesh" to the traffic police in Turkey. It is not for nothing that recently the policemen have been making fun with our truckers while fining them, "How long SOMAT will have money to pay"

Or they would throw in a challenge: "SOMAT- finish!"

As is known, the SOMAT association has for long been a leader in Europe's international road transport. It handles cargoes on land and water routes in Europe, Asia and Africa. Thanks to its precision and reliability, SOMAT has won an exceedingly high prestige with its numerous customers. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why it should be attacked by the Turkish traffic police who are trying to hamper it from honouring its obligations.

"To tell you frankly," Yancho Yanev went on to say, "now our truckers are quite reluctant to set on routes passing across Turkey. But they are very well aware that we must fulfil our old contracts and that we do not intend to shun new ones."

Mr Yanev cited numerous facts of SOMAT truckers having been maltreated by the Turkish traffic police: they do not let them in certain parking lots, motels and filling stations. More often than not the Bulgarians bring back home black eyes and wounds on their arms. One of our oldest truckers from Bourgas "Uncle Mityo" as he is known in the association, was taken to a Turkish police station



SOMAT truckers returning from Turkey at the Kapitan Andreevo border checkpoint. Simeon Simeonov (left) has been fined by the Turkish traffic police on 14 occasions for a total of 93,500 lira, plus being forced to give 21,000 lira as baksheesh. Nikolai Nichev was fined 21 times, to the tune of 220,500 lira. Both have been SOMAT drivers for many years, and have never had similar problems elsewhere in Europe or Asia.

Photo: E. Rafaelian



The Azays, a Turkish family, crossed from Kalotina to Kapitan Andreevo without a single problem.

and beaten black and blue with a pistol butt because he claimed he was a Bulgarian and not a forcibly renamed Turk. The traffic police officers take it out on the SOMAT truckers for some reprisals against the "Turkish minority" in Bulgaria, or at least the local media allege so.

"I think our drivers are showing real heroism by discharging their duty and by standing firm to the traffic police provocations", notes Peter Djermanov, controller at the SOMAT head office. "And provocations like these are numerous and diverse."

Nikolai Nichev told me that 22 SOMAT trucks have been detained by the police at a parking lot because the traffic police officers wanted a "baksheesh" in dollars.

Abdullah Azay:

**"Nobody has even touched us in Bulgaria"**

Recently the Turkish *Hürriyet* newspaper ran a feature entitled "Turkish TIR Truckers Complain of Bulgarians". Ismail Ali, well known for his "objectivity", writes that while Bulgarian soldiers control the movement of Turkish drivers across the

country and even do not let them in the toilets, the Turkish traffic police are quite correct in their contacts with the SOMAT truckers.

At the Kapitan Andreevo parking lot I had a chance to talk to many Turkish drivers, who have crossed Bulgaria en route to their homeland. Celal Pelisan and Ibrahim Taftan of Istanbul's Er San company drive across our country more than twenty times each year. Now they are coming from France. During their travel along the Hemus Motorway the Bulgarian highway patrol fined Celal 20 leva for breaking the speed limit on entering a tunnel. "I don't mind this fine," he said. "I know my Bulgarian colleagues are being much more heavily fined in Turkey, and Allah forbid that the Bulgarian highway patrol start treating us in the same way." Other Turkish drivers have not been fined at all. In transiting our country they can stop at Kalotino, Dragoman, Plovdiv and Kapitan Andreevo, where there are parking lots, restaurants and convertible currency shops. Mr Celal and Mr Ibrahim said that during their trips they have helped our drivers in trouble, and their

colleagues of SOMAT have returned the favour.

I also talked to the Azays, an amiable Turkish family who work and live near Innsbruck in Austria and are now going home for the holidays. "We cross Bulgaria every year," says Abdullah Azay, "and we have never had any problems with Bulgarian highway patrols or with the Bulgarian police. When you stick to the traffic code, nobody touches you."

...Hundreds of heavy duty trucks belonging to various Turkish firms cross Bulgaria in transit every month. Nearly two thousand SOMAT automobiles cross the Bulgarian Turkish border over the same period. At present their drivers have been turned into a milch cow for the traffic police, who are making money out of them. But what do the goodneighbourly relations between Bulgaria and Turkey stand to gain from all this?

JPRS-EPS-85-061  
31 May 1985

MORE PRESSURE ON CATHOLIC CHURCH

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 May 85 p 3

[Article by Waltraud Baryli: "Regime's Campaign Against the Church Hardening"]

[Excerpt] Vienna--The campaign which the Czechoslovakian regime has been carrying on against the Catholic Church, practically without interruption since 1950, has again hardened. The celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of St Methodius, the apostle to the Slavs, was the occasion for the authorities to take unusual security measures. Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, has strongly protested against the measures in a letter sent to President Husak.

On 10 April the clergy commemorated the death, in 885 AD, of St Methodius with a pilgrimage to Valehrad, in southern Moravia. The saint was once archbishop of this area. At the pilgrimage Cardinal Tomasek read a message from Pope John Paul II, calling on the clergy to have the courage to testify to the faith, "even if, under present conditions, that is difficult." An unexpected crowd of several thousand of the faithful attended the pilgrimage, delighted to have the opportunity to demonstrate publicly their solidarity with the church.

The message from the pope contained indirect criticism of the "Pacem in Terris" [Peace on Earth] movement, created by the government and prohibited by the Vatican in 1982. According to religious sources, about one-third of the 3,000 priests in Czechoslovakia are reportedly members of "Pacem in Terris." However, since 1982 many people have left this organization.

Cardinal Tomasek had invited the pope to come to Czechoslovakia this year to attend the ceremonies in honor of St Methodius. A petition signed by several thousand catholics in favor of such a trip left the government authorities unmoved. The pope therefore had to decline the personal invitation from Cardinal Tomasek.

The pilgrimage to Valehrad is intended to be the starting point for a series of religious events. A further meeting is scheduled in the same city on 7 July on the occasion of the feasts of Sts Cyrille and Methodius.

In a secret circular letter sent at the beginning of March, whose contents leaked to church circles in Prague, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party warned the media and regional and local authorities against the "manifestations of clericalism" which lay hidden behind this celebration,



"directed against Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries." The authorities concerned were therefore strongly urged to react strongly to limit the impact of the ceremonies connected with the feast days of the Slavic apostles and to watch closely the people participating in these events.

The party weekly TRIBUNA recently published an article entitled, "Legends and Reality," on the missionary work of Sts Cyrille and Methodius. This article was filled with attacks against the Catholic Church and the pope. In a letter to President Gustav Husak and to Vladimir Janku, the director of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, Cardinal Tomasek protested against the campaign aimed at discrediting the church. The measures taken, the cardinal wrote, "are totally unjustified." He added: "An alert has been sounded as if the country were in danger," emphasizing that "religious services in Czechoslovakia have never been directed against the state." The archbishop of Prague, who is 86, reminded the authorities that their actions are contrary to the Constitution and to the rights of man. In a letter to the TRIBUNA the cardinal accused it of "falsifying historical truth."

However, it is true that the missionary activities of the two brothers, Sts Cyrille and Methodius, who were born in Salonika, were political in character at the time they lived. The two missionaries came to Moravia at the request of Prince Rostislav, founder of one of the first Slavic empires. To strengthen the independence of his young kingdom against the Bavarian monarchy and the Carolingian empire, Prince Rostislav wanted to have a national church established. The negative attitude of the Czechoslovak Government regarding the commemoration of the work of the two saints seems all the more incomprehensible. The empire of Prince Rostislav more or less covered the territory of modern Czechoslovakia, and the work of Sts Cyrille and Methodius is therefore a part of the Czechoslovak historical heritage.

Communist Bulgaria has fully recognized and celebrated the historical contribution of the two Slavic missionaries. The missionaries symbolized national and revolutionary consciousness, particularly during the period of Turkish domination--and they never even went to Bulgaria!

5170  
CSO: 2900/2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CORROSION RESISTANCE PROBLEMS STUDIED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 1, 1985 pp 4-5

[Article by Lt Col Eng Jaroslav Prudek and Eng Jaromir Tulka: "Objective: "Improved Resistance--Path to High-Quality Protection Against Corrosion in Development and Production of Military Equipment"]

[Text] The importance of improved resistance of products against corrosion is constantly increasing. This problem is dealt with by all industrially advanced countries and they expend great resources toward its solution. These expenditures represent in the CSSR approximately Kcs 15 billion annually. Anti-corrosion resistance affects in a significant manner the technical parameters of products as well as their production and use. A particularly significant role is played by protection against corrosion in the case of products destined for regions with extraordinary climatic conditions where unsuitable or poor-quality protection causes considerable damage and detrimentally affects marketing. All these facts apply in their full extent also to military ordnance products. Their basic structural material is and shall remain steel of classes 11 through 16 which shows inadequate resistance against corrosion. The selection of a suitable system of protection and its high-quality application affects the combat readiness, technical service life, functional reliability, storage life and the requirements on maintenance and care of military equipment.

Contrary to the still-used term "surface protection"--which denotes primarily coatings (metallic, non-metallic, inorganic, coatings or layers of conservation vaselines and oils)--the term "protective system" includes applications pertaining primarily to the sphere of design, material and technology.

The pointed out viewpoints are known to the personnel participating in the development, production and application of military equipment. However, the path to their implementation is technically and organizationally demanding and made more difficult by the negative effects of many factors.

An important role in dealing with anticorrosion resistance is played by personnel of military administration who provide for development of military equipment. The demands made on the protective system defy any generalized formulation. They must form a part of qualified specification of the basic technical requirements on the development of military equipment.



The indispensable specification involves primarily:

--the type of climatic version of the equipment in keeping with the basic combat, i.e., utilitarian properties of the products;

==all potential corrosive, i.e., external, operational and technological environments coming under consideration in the course of operation and storage (atmosphere, water, propellants, etc.);

==design and technological measures for attaining the required protection as part of the requirements on the properties of structural units or individual groups;

--guidance data regarding the service life of the protective system in keeping with the requirements on service life norms;

==the means and technologies used in devising protective systems from the viewpoint of the required overall quality of the equipment, particularly its functional parameters;

--requirements on the protective system from the viewpoint of its application in relation to work safety, ecology, etc.;

--decisive features of the quality of the means for protection against corrosion and specification of the methods of their determination.

All these requirements must become projected into the overall concept of development so that the selected protective system be optimal for meeting the demands specified by the requestor. It must also meet valid norms and binding regulations regarding health protection, work safety and environmental protection in all phases of production, transportation, storage and operation of equipment.

Specific and complete demands for protection against corrosion must be specified in tacticotechnical requirements on development which not only form the basis from which the designer proceeds in his work, but also an important technicolegal document for control of meeting of the specified objectives.

The decisive role in devising a system of protection against corrosion is played by the workplace of the organization which develops military equipment. It is no easy task. If it is to be successfully met, its solvers must be very well acquainted with, correctly estimate and take into consideration in particular the possibilities for resorting to alternate design variants, the corrosion resistance of structural materials and the suitability of their selection for a given task; the effectiveness of individual types of permanent and temporary protection; the demands made by devising and restoring protection on energy and raw materials; the demands on the technological resources of a serial producer of military equipment indispensable for providing protection; reliable methods for controlling the quality of protection and the requirements on the technological resources on the producer's part for providing it; lack of dependence on the importation of raw materials and technological equipment from nonsocialist countries and practical experience with systems of protection against corrosion in products operating under similar conditions.

Such a comprehensive approach to the solution must be constantly improved. That calls for extensive technical knowledge on the part of the specialist participating in the task. This involves in the civilian sector primarily planners, designers, technologists and foremen.

An important element of activities of the organization engaged in developing is the level of preparation of technical documentation for production of a prototype. This involves primarily drawings and technological processes, wherein regulations governing protection against corrosion often are not quite precise and complete. "Coating With the Color Khaki" can be cited as an entirely general regulation.

Underestimating the importance of precise and complete regulations of protection against corrosion can result in supplementary elimination of shortcomings detected in the course of development, e.g., during testing of prototypes, in serial production or eventually, as late as during operation of the equipment or during its storage.

The most effective measure against the listed shortcomings is thorough control of drafted documentation, technological processes, production equipment and of the enterprise' quality control system conducted by specialists of the military administration as early as the period of preparations for the production of a prototype and then during preparations for production of the verification series. Whether the regulation for the system of protection for military equipment against corrosion is formulated with adequate optimality is verified as early as the tests of the prototype. Control activities during these tests are oriented toward adherence to the prescribed structural materials, materials for partial systems of protection (coatings, temporary protection); further toward structural modifications of significance to protection and toward technological discipline in production of the prototype.

The conclusions arrived at in testing of the prototype must be projected into the entire documentation for production. Changes in documentation in the course of production are dealt with only on the basis of a proposal which does not detrimentally affect the overall quality of the equipment and is technically and economically justified. The path to high-quality protection of military equipment against corrosion is ultimately up to the producing organization.

There is a need for constantly improving the technological discipline and the effectiveness of quality control in our production organizations.

Protection against corrosion is considerably expensive. In their endeavor to cut down on production costs some enterprises resort to providing the least costly protection which is sometimes done at the expense of its quality. In view of these facts, a significant role is played in providing high-quality protection in serial production of military equipment by the representative of the military administration (ZVS).

He who wants to control effectively must know more than the producer. This axiom fully applies to these specialists. As the demands on production keep increasing as does the rate of technological progress, the ZVS too--if he wants

to perform his tasks at a high level of quality in controlling the quality of military equipment--must have a solid fund of the requisite knowledge and experience in the sphere of protection against corrosion, and keep supplementing them constantly. Only in such a case is his performance effective and, moreover, through his inherent authority he can also favorably affect the level of technological discipline and the producer's effective control.

A significant factor which affects the results of the efforts of work centers on participating in devising and providing protection for military equipment against corrosion is methodological approach. The latter varies considerably in individual organizations. The shortcoming tends to be a lack of comprehensive approach to the problems dealt with (underestimation of some important possibilities and viewpoints in selection of a specific system of protection, etc.).

There are organizations in both the civilian and military sphere that still operate through inertia, "the old way," and fail to adapt themselves to new requirements with the requisite amount of flexibility.

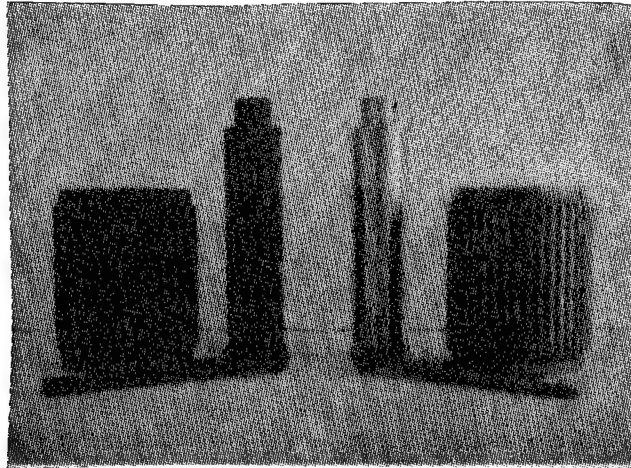
With the objective of promoting and in the sphere of basic technical problems unifying the activities of specialized personnel in civilian and military developmental and production organizations, one of the military research institutes devised a methodology for activities in the specialized sector of protection of military equipment against corrosion that will acquire the status of a sectoral norm. It is arranged in accordance with the individual stages of development and production. It stipulates and concretely specifies the general principles for deriving a system of protection; the decisive quality criteria and the principles for their determination and for prescribing them; relations between indications of deterioration of protection, methods for assessment and their technical significance; principles and examples of correct prescribing of protection in the technical documentation of products as well as other important guidelines for and requirements on both the contractor's and customer's personnel.

Discernible in the mentioned principles for approach to providing high-quality protection against corrosion already in the course of development and production of military equipment is a qualitative shift in comparison to the conventional concept that consists primarily in the contemporary concept of this task being more comprehensive, with the objective of eliminating corrosion problems as early as the stage of launching the development of military equipment and resolve them prior to launching of serial production.

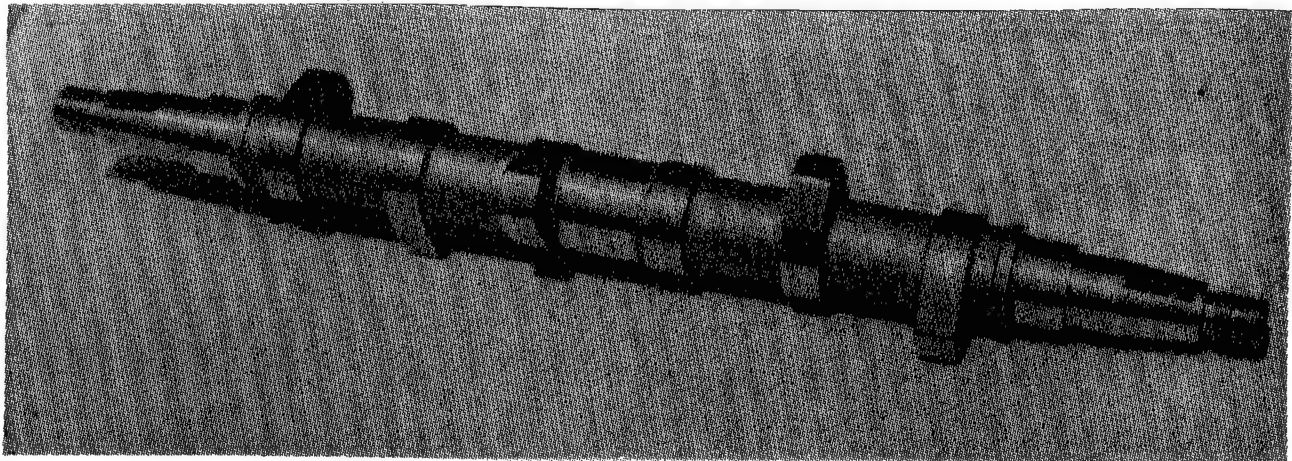
These specialized problems represent an integral part of technological design experience and of control activities with emphasis on effective dealing with contemporary shortcomings. Implementation of such a concept of activities will enhance the basic utilitarian properties of military equipment in the course of its storing and operation and constitutes an indispensable prerequisite for systematic improvement of the resistance of equipment against corrosion.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

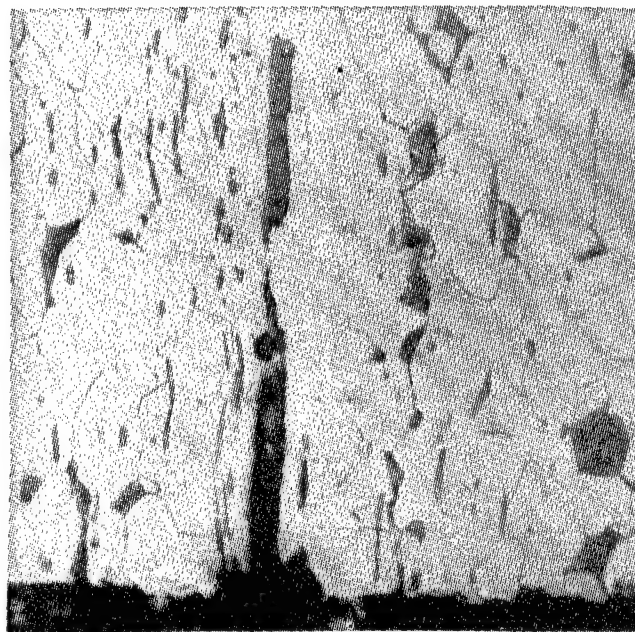
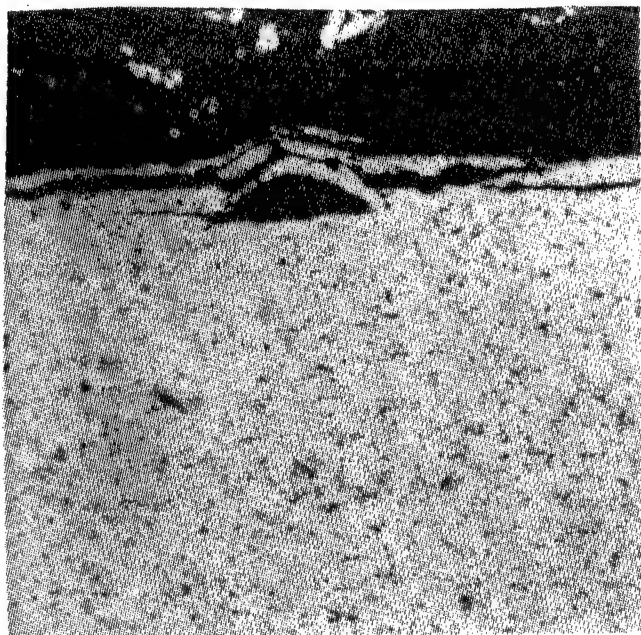
1. p 4. Differing effectiveness of protection of automotive replacement parts after several years' storage.



2. p 5. Protection of crankshaft against corrosion by a vaporizing inhibitor. MICROTEX S wrapping material. (State after six years of storage in an unheated storage facility.)



3. p 5. [Lower left] Damage to the surface layer of a structural material in a corrosive medium (100x magnification).
4. p 5. [Lower right] Metallographic sample of potential corrosion splitting caused by incorrect selection of structural material for the corrosive medium (enlarged).



8204

CSO: 2400/345

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHEMICAL-PHYSICAL COATING, ION IMPLANTS OF STEEL VIEWED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 1, 1985 pp 6-7

[Article by Col Prof Eng Dalibor Ruzicka, DrSc: "Chemical, Physical Coating, Ion Implantation--Surface Finishing of Steel"]

[Text] Improving of the service life and reliability of machine parts and, through them, of entire machinery systems will depend to a considerable extent on whether success will be encountered in affecting the properties of functional surfaces of parts. Their reduced service life and reliability are caused by premature wear due to friction, occurrence of fatigue processes, corrosive effects and other operational effects. In view of the fact that damage to machine parts propagates from areas below the surface of machine parts, there is a need for finding processing methods which would lead to improved properties of surfaces.

From among the widely used methods for affecting the properties of steel surfaces it is possible to list cementating, nitriding, nitrocementing, boronizing, alitizing, surface reinforcement by shot peening, roller burnishing or some other methods of hot metal coating--zinc coating and tin coating, cadmium plating or methods of galvanic metal plating, eventually thermic sprays or enameling and organic coatings. The mentioned methods seek to improve resistance against friction/abrasion, fatigue limit and resistance against corrosion.

The new processes becoming currently available offer qualitative improvement of the properties of machine parts and tools surfaces. Foremost among them are processes that produce a new surface layer by chemical coating from the gaseous phase or physical coating by means of ionized atoms. The new procedures include methods termed as CVD (Chemical Vapor Deposition) or KIB (Kondensaciya v usloviakh Ionnoy Bombardirovki [Concentration under Ion Bombardment]), PVD (Physical Vapor Deposition) processes, the ion implantation method and surface treatment by laser.

Chemical Coating from the Gaseous Phase (CVD Method)

Chemical coating from the gaseous phase denotes generation of a coating on the surface of an object by a reaction of the fed in gaseous chemical compounds. Chemical reactions progress on the boundary between the solid and gaseous phase at a given pressure and temperature which result in a technically useable solid



phase. Sintered carbide coating involves of hard high-melting compounds such as  $TiC$ ,  $TiN$ ,  $TiB_2$ ,  $HfN$ ,  $Al_2O_3$  and some others. The layout for basic arrangement of systems for CVD is shown in Figure 1.

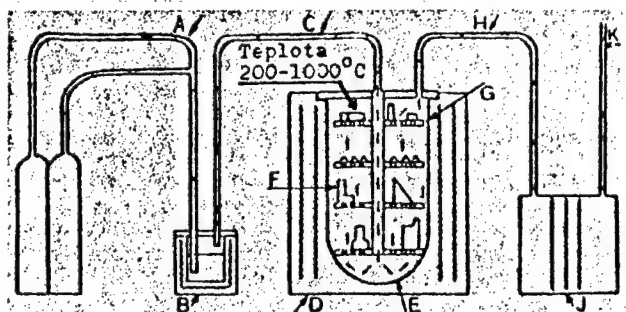


Figure 1. Systemic layout for chemical coating from the gaseous phase (CVD Method)

Key:	A. Carrier gas	F. Objects being coated
	B. Vaporizer for $TiCl$	G. Graphite plates
	C. Feed pipeline for $TiCl-H_2-CH_4$ or $N_2$	H. Exhaust of $HCl$ reaction products
	D. Electric furnace	J. Neutralizing unit
	E. Reactor	K. Exhaust for reaction products free of harmful impurities

Table. Examples of CVD method application to tool steels and the attained results

Type of tool	Tool Steel	Average service life of uncoated tools (Number of operations)	Average service life of coated tools	Service life Increase (Multiple)
Screw tap	M-2	3,000	9,000	3
Cut-off cutter	M-2	150	1,000	6.3
Hobbing cutter	M-2	1,500	4,500	3
Forming cutter	M-2	4,950	23,000	4.6
Punch	M-2	500,000	3,000,000	6
Drill/borer	M-2	1,000	4,000	4

TAB.: Příklady použití metody CVD na nástrojových ocelích a dosažené výsledky:

Druh nástrojů	Nástrojová ocel	Průměrná životnost nástrojů bez povlaku (počet operací)	Průměrná životnost nástrojů opatřených povlaky	Zlepšení životnosti (násobek)
Závítník	M-2	3000	9000	3
Upíňovací nůž	M-2	150	1000	6,3
Odvalovací fréza	M-2	1500	4500	3
Tvarový nůž	M-2	4950	23 000	4,6
Razník	M-2	500 000	3 000 000	6
Vrták	M-2	1000	4000	4



## Physical Coating (KIB, PVD methods)

Contrary to chemical coating, physical coating is based on transfer of a solid metal into gaseous phase by vaporization in vacuum or by cathode sputtering. The source of heat used for vaporization in vacuum is resistance heating, arc discharge or an electron beam, the principle is shown in Figure 2. Ion coating/

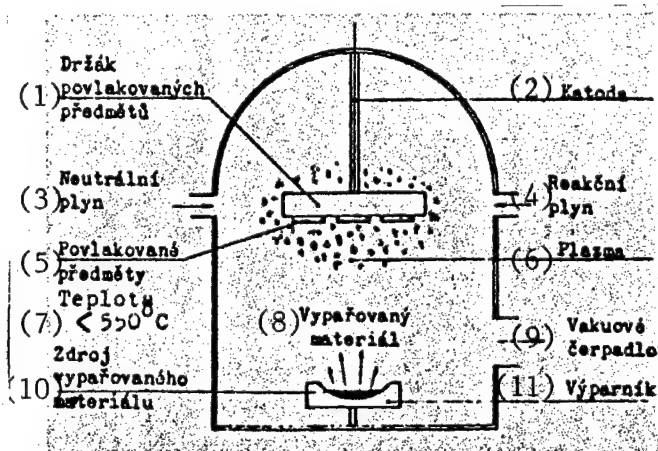


Figure 2. Principle of ion coating/plating (PVD process)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Key: 1. Holder of objects being coated | 7. Temperature $< 550^{\circ} \text{C}$ |
| 2. Cathode                             | 8. Vaporized material                   |
| 3. Neutral gas                         | 9. Vacuum pump                          |
| 4. Reaction gas                        | 10. Source of vaporized material        |
| 5. Objects being coated                | 11. Vaporizer                           |
| 6. Plasma                              |   |

/plating is used for processing the surfaces of drills/borers, hobbing cutters and other tools made of high-speed steel. For example, drills/borers coated by TiN provided a four times greater output and, after regrinding, still offered a yield twice greater than that of uncoated drills/borers. The surface quality of borings in comparison to those made by a normal drill/borer was still better after 300 borings than after 50 borings made by an uncoated drill/borer. The tests were conducted on a 15 mm thick steel plate refined to a strength of 1,100 MPa. As TiN coatings reduce friction, it was possible to attain an approximately 17 percent reduction in cutting forces.

## Ion Implantation

During bombardment of the surface of a substance by energy ions there occur several interactions with atoms of the solid substance that can be used for improvement of surface properties. For example, the interaction of ions impacting on a solid phase surface was used for implantation of inclusions into semiconductors, finds application in mass production of semiconductors. Ions of elements are implanted into the surface of metals by an energy of up to 10 eV into a depth of approximately 0.1  $\mu\text{m}$ . Penetration of atoms into the grid is

not dependent on diffusion and is partially affected by disturbances in the crystal lattice and by oxide coating. Figure 3 shows a change in chemical composition accompanied by generation of compressive stresses. The method makes it possible to perform merely localized affecting of the surface properties as needed whereby other surface properties do not undergo a change and dimensional changes in the parts are negligible. The implanted surface layer is actually connected with the basic material without forming a contact surface and thus the problem of the layer's peeling is eliminated.

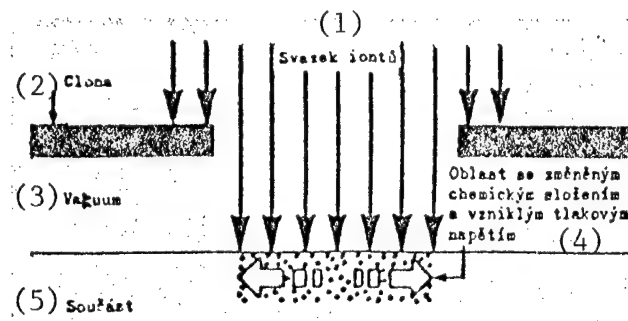


Figure 3. Diagram of a surface with implanted ions showing changes in composition and accompanied by occurrence of compression stress

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Key: 1. Ion beam | 4. Region with changed chemical composition and occurrence of compression stresses |
| 2. Diaphragm     | 5. Component   |
| 3. Vacuum        |  |

Drawing dies processed by implantation for production of steel wires made of Co-WC hard metal showed a threefold increased service life. Other shaping tools made of high-speed steel or hard metals showed an up to fivefold increase in their service life, in some cases higher by 12 times. Implantation can also be used to achieve an increased fatigue limit of steel which can be explained by the occurrence of compression stress and the presence of implanted ions in the lattice which present no obstacle to the movement of dislocations.

New methods of forming coatings of tools and hard-metal plates through the CVD, KIB, PVD methods or by ion implantation make it possible to keep increasing the service life of tools and hard metals. The results show an up to sixfold increase in service life, depending on the type of tool and its exposure to stress. The methods represent new technologies and it can be envisioned that they will find continued application in machine parts as well. The methods offer formation of surface layers of varying mechanical, chemical and physical properties and thus the new methods can be regarded as viable for the machine-building and electrotechnical industry.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TATRA 815 WHEELED VEHICLES DESCRIBED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 1, 1985 pp 22-24

[Article by Eng Martin Boubelik: "Engines of TATRA 815 Military Wheeled Vehicles"]

[Text] The key demands on an engine used in military wheeled automotive equipment are primarily high performance, capacity for operation with substitute fuels and reliability under the most demanding operational conditions.

The driving unit of all variants of the new type series TATRA 815 automobiles are 8-, 10- and 12-cylinder, compression ignition [Diesel], air-cooled, four-stroke engines with direct fuel injection. The heavy military TATRA terrain automobiles use high-output 12-cylinder engines using a variety of fuels in regular and supercharged version bearing the type designation T3-930. The engines are intended for operation in temperate climate regions. They can operate at maximum load at temperatures of  $-40^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $+30^{\circ}\text{C}$  and, with reduced output, up to  $+50^{\circ}\text{C}$  of ambient temperature. The engine with its clutch is waterproof to a height of 245 mm above the crankshaft axle.

The basic fuel for all variants of the T3-930 engines is Diesel oil. However, the engines can operate also with substitute fuels--PL 6 aircraft fuel; a mixture of automotive gasoline and Diesel oil or aircraft fuel in a ratio of BA 90, BA 96 and a minimum of 40 percent of aircraft fuel or Diesel oil.

The basic data and technical parameters of the T3-930 engines used in military wheeled vehicles are listed in Table 1. Improved output parameters and reduced rated effective fuel consumption of a supercharged engine in comparison to a non-supercharged engine can be gleaned from the external speed characteristics of both types of engines (Figures 2 and 3). Comparison of piston-type combustion engines is often made by means of significant comparative characteristics listed in Table 2. The table shows that the key output parameters and economy parameters are better in the supercharged engine and their improvement is commensurate to the employed method of supercharging by a turbo-blower without regulation. Comparison of moment and revolution adaptability show that the dynamic properties of a supercharged engine are somewhat worse but that they are partially improved by fuel dosage.

Figure 1. T-3-930-50 Supercharged engine



Figure 2. External velocity characteristics of the T3-930-31 engine

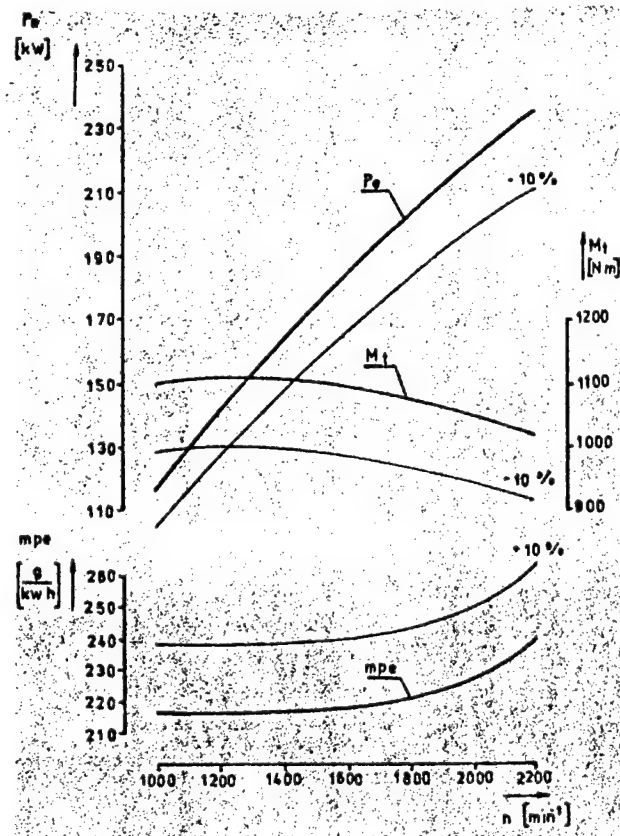
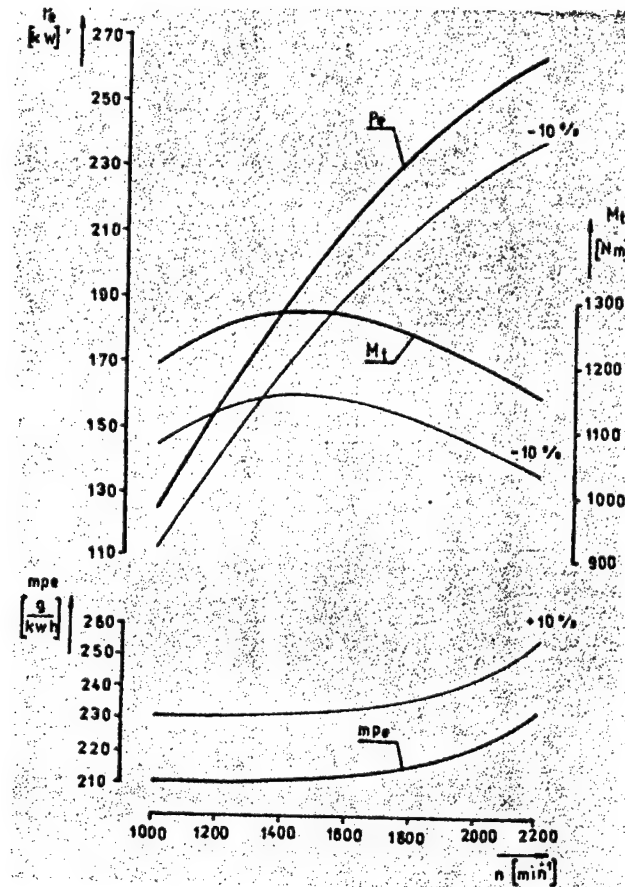


Figure 3. External velocity characteristic of the supercharged T3-93-50 engine



#### New Structural Elements of the T3-930 Engine

The structural arrangement of the engine can be seen in its cross and longitudinal section (Figures 4 and 5). It is based on the popular design of the T2-930 engines used in T-813 vehicles. The new structural changes are pointed out subsequently.

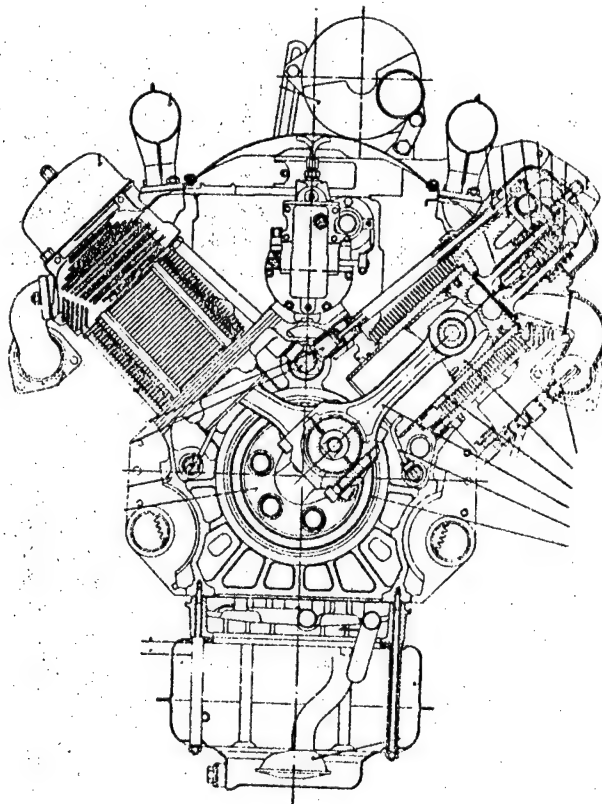


Figure 4. Cross-section of the T3-930-31 engine

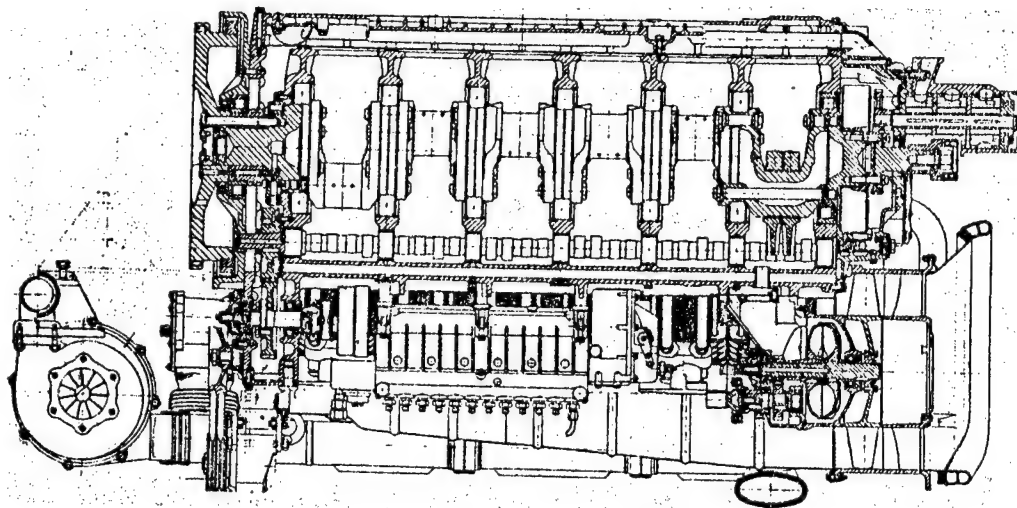


Figure 5. Longitudinal section of the supercharged T3-930-51 engine

Table 1

Parametry (1)	Označení (2)	(3) Provedení motoru T3-930-31 T3-930-50 (-51, -52)	
Druh motoru (4)		4-dobý vznětový s přímým vstřikem paliva, nepřepínávaný (5)	4-dobý vznětový s přímým vstřikem paliva, přepínávaný (6)
Uspořádání válců (7)		samostatné válce ve 2 řadách do „V“ v úhlu 90° (8)	
Chlazení (9)		(10) vzduchem, nuceným oběhem	
Počet válců (11)	i	12	
Vrtání (12)	D	120 mm	
Zdvih (13)	Z	140 mm	
Zdvihový objem motoru (14)	V	19 dm <sup>3</sup>	
Rozvod (15)		OHV, ozubenými koly (16)	
Kompresní poměr (17)		16 ± 0,4:1	
Maximální efektivní výkon (18)	P <sub>e</sub>	235 kW—10 % při 2200 min <sup>-1</sup>	265 kW—10 % při 2200 min <sup>-1</sup>
Maximální točivý moment (19)	M <sub>t</sub>	1130 Nm—10 % při 1400 ± 200 min <sup>-1</sup>	1295 Nm—10 % při 1400 ± 200 min <sup>-1</sup>
Minimální měrná efektivní spotřeba paliva (20)	m <sub>pe</sub>	215 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$ při 1200 ± 200 min <sup>-1</sup>	210 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$ při 1200 ± 200 min <sup>-1</sup>
Jmenovité otáčky (21)	n <sub>j</sub>	2200 min <sup>-1</sup>	
Regulované přeběhové otáčky (22)	n <sub>p</sub>	max. 2500 min <sup>-1</sup>	
Volnoběžné otáčky (23)	n <sub>v</sub>	500—800 min <sup>-1</sup>	
Mazání motoru (24)		tlakové a oběhové se zubovým olejovým čerpadlem (25)	
Druh maziva (26)		celoroční automobilový olej M6AD S-II (27)	
Měrná spotřeba oleje (28)	mol	1,5 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$	2,0 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$
Čistič oleje (29)		s papírovou vložkou a odstředivý čistič RH 02 d (30)	
Pořadí vstřiku paliva (31)		1-8-5-10-3-7-6-11-2-9-4-12	
Základní úhel předvstřiku (32)		(33) 20+2° před HÚ	(33) 24+2° před HÚ
Otevírací tlak jehly trysky (34)	p <sub>o</sub>	17,0 - 0,5 MPa	
Vůle ventilů studeného motoru (35)	v	sací i výfukové ventily 0,2 mm (36)	
Čistič nasávaného vzduchu (37)		SPP 1200 R s papírovou vložkou a olejovou náplní (38) 1 ks (38) 2 ks	
Turbodmychadlo (39)	--	K 36 ... 2 kusy (38)	
Schopnost provozu motoru (40)		(41) při podélném sklonu 40° (42) při příčném sklonu 30°	
Startovatelnost (43)		při použití základního paliva do -40 °C (44)	
Hmotnost motoru bez spojky, spojkové skříně a olejové náplně (45)		1300 kg +5 %	1400 kg +5 %

Table 2

Veličina (1)	Označení (2)	(3) Motor nepřepínávaný T3-930-31 přepínávaný T3-930-50 (-51, -52)		Změna vzhledem k hodnotě nepřepín. motoru (6)
		(4)	(5)	
Střední efektivní tlak (7)	p <sub>e</sub>	0,675 MPa	0,761 MPa	12,8 % +
Objemový výkon (8)	P <sub>o</sub>	12,37 $\frac{kW}{dm^3}$	13,85 $\frac{kW}{dm^3}$	12,8 % +
Měrná výkonová hmotnost (9)	m <sub>p</sub>	5,53 $\frac{kg}{kW}$	5,28 $\frac{kg}{kW}$	4,5 % -
Střední pistová rychlost (10)	c <sub>a</sub>	10,3 $\frac{m}{s}$	10,3 $\frac{m}{s}$	0 %
Min. měrná efektivní spotřeba paliva (11)	m <sub>pe</sub>	215 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$	210 $\frac{g}{kW \cdot h}$	2,3 % +
Součinitel momentové přizpůsobivosti (12)	M	1,106 $\frac{Nm}{Nm}$	1,116 $\frac{Nm}{Nm}$	0,9 % +
Součinitel otáčkové přizpůsobivosti (13)	n	0,614 $\frac{min^{-1}}{min^{-1}}$	0,659 $\frac{min^{-1}}{min^{-1}}$	7,3 % -



Table 1. Technical parameters of T3-930 engines

Key:	1. Parameters	24. Engine lubrication
	2. Designation	25. Forced and circulation with geared oil pump
	3. Engine variant	26. Type of lubricant
	4. Engine type	27. M6AD S-II car oil throughout the year
	5. 4-stroke Diesel with direct fuel injection, not supercharged	28. Rated oil consumption
	6. 4-stroke Diesel with direct fuel injection, supercharged	29. Oil filter
	7. Cylinder arrangement	30. With paper filter element and RH 02 d centrifugal cleaner
	8. Independent cylinders in two rows in "V" at 90° angle	31. Fuel injection sequence
	9. Cooling system	32. Basic preinjection angle
	10. Forced air circulation	33. Angle lead
	11. Number of cylinders	34. Initial pressure of jet needle
	12. Bore	35. Valve clearance at cold engine
	13. Stroke	36. Inlet and exhaust valves
	14. Engine stroke capacity	37. Intake air cleaner
	15. Distribution system	38. With paper filter element and oil charge [ks = piece(s)]
	16. Overhead valves with gears	39. Turbo-blower
	17. Compression ratio	40. Engine operation capacity
	18. Maximum effective output	41. At incline
	19. Maximum torque	42. At camber
	20. Minimum rated effective fuel consumption	43. Starting capacity
	21. Rated speed	44. With use of basic fuel down to
	22. Regulated revolution overrun	45. Engine weight without clutch, clutch casing and oil charge
	23. Idling revolutions	

Table 2. Comparison of T3-930 engines by means of significant comparative factors

Key:	1. Factor	8. Power output
	2. Designation	9. Rated output weight
	3. Engine	10. Median piston speed
	4. Non-supercharged T3-930-31	11. Minimum rated effective fuel consumption
	5. Supercharged T3-930-50 (-51, -52)	12. Moment adaptability coefficient
	6. Change in comparison to unsupercharged engine	13. Revolution adaptability coefficient
	7. Median effective pressure	

Note: + = improvement  
- = deterioration

The angle between the rows of cylinders was increased from 75° to 90° to improve the engine balance. The lower compression ratio of 16:1 tends to reduce maximum pressures during combustion that, particularly in supercharged engines, reach high magnitudes and produce a detrimental load on the crank mechanism. Increase of engine revolutions from 2,000 to 2,200 rpm makes for a higher engine output. The lubrication system has undergone many changes. It uses a new geared oil pump suspended on the engine's front cover. The lubrication system has been enhanced by piston lubrication and cooling through oil spray. The reduction valve for regulating oil pressure in the lubricating system is new. At an oil pressure of 0.2 MPa it feeds oil into pipes for piston spraying and at a 4.0 MPa pressure it opens up a port for drainage of oil into the crankcase. Interesting changes made in the fuel system include primarily the injection pump. It comes equipped with an output governor and an automatic fuel adder for easier engine start-up which in the supercharged T3-930 engines is a part of the fuel dose pressure corrector. The adder is operated by oil pressure from the engine lubrication system. To reduce the preinjection of fuel during starting, the pistons of the injection pump with constant initial injection are provided with start-up limits. The pump comes equipped with an automatic injection advance device. The original cyclone air cleaners have been replaced by new types of cleaners with a paper filter and oil charge. The T3-930 engines also come equipped with automatic cooling control with a hydraulic clutch in the ventilator drive. It employs stronger starters with 6,6 kW/24 V output and a 28 V/60 A alternator or, in the case of engines intended for special military vehicle chassis, a 28 V/100 A alternator.

The increasing demands made on power units of wheeled vehicles in the CSLA call for continued development of supercharged Diesel engines with an air intercooler with a more robust crank mechanism, changed crankshaft suspension, modified distribution and injection systems, redesigned cooling of parts exposed to thermal stress.

8204

CSO: 2400/345

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHARACTERISTICS OF T-815 AUTOMOBILES

Prague ATOM in Czech No 1, 1985 p 22

[Text] Armed combat with potential use of nuclear missile weaponry calls for high maneuverability, lightning-speed concentration, dispersion or deployment of troops and material for successful conduct of swift operations into great depth.

Most automobiles in World War II were used in the rear echelon for transportation of materials and supplies. Nowadays wheeled vehicles are already a part of troop combat formations of all types. Emergence of rocket weaponry created the conditions for wide application and development of military wheeled vehicles. They now find mass application not only as transportation means, but as combat vehicles with the requisite superstructure and armaments, with special equipment for individual technical and rear echelon types of troops and must be capable of maneuvering under various conditions and in the terrain.

That is why we are increasingly encountering military multi-axle wheel vehicles with all-wheels drive and high maneuverability. In this context there also occurred substantial changes in tactical and technical requirements on the operating properties and design of military wheeled and, primarily, terrain vehicles.

At the present time our army is gradually being equipped with a new type series of the military version of the T-815 heavy terrain trucks. Production was launched in the Tatra enterprise in Kopřivnice and in its branch plants.

The overall contribution made by the new type series of T-815 automobiles is constituted by:

--increased outputs and payloads of all variants to the limit of legal restrictions;

--unified series (36 basic types) replaced production of two basic types (T-148 and T-813);

--attainment of improved operational economy indicators (increased speed of travel, longer service life, transportation output at lower consumption and operating costs;

--meeting of legislative requirements (primarily as regards noise level, emissions, passive and active safety, health, hygienic and other requirements;

--improved maneuverability, primarily of military versions, and other demanding tactical and technical requirements.

Members of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] are receiving modern military wheeled equipment of a new generation. The riding characteristics of these vehicles, maneuverability in the terrain are considerably higher than in the existing vehicles, weights and outputs are considerable. The military version of the T-815 is of a considerably complex design, high demands were met by use of the latest R&D findings.

The work of T-815 drivers is made easier by power steering, electropneumatic and pneumatic shifting and controls, complex but effective brake systems and creation of favorable conditions for the operator's work and rest. All of these excellent operating properties and high maneuverability will be attained only when drivers and technical personnel become proficient in handling this complex technology and commanders will make correct and suitable use of it in combat.

We want to make a partial contribution to the preceding by a series of prepared articles to be successively published through which we shall become familiarized with peculiarities of the design of the military version of the T-815 automobile in comparison to the T-813 special vehicle. The serial is a continuation of articles published in ATOM no 6/82 and no 3/83 which dealt with the basic parameters, a brief description, riding characteristics and traction properties of the military version of the T-815 automobile.



8204

CSO: 2400/345

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

GROUP ATTENDS MEMORIAL AT MAUTHAUSEN--Mauthausen, Austria, 5 May (CTK correspondent)--A Czechoslovak delegation led by chairman of the Union of Anti-fascist Fighters Frantisek Miseje laid wreaths today to the memorial of victims at the war-time Nazi concentration camp at Mauthausen near Linz. It took part in a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the camp's liberation, which was attended by delegations from many countries whose nationals had been imprisoned or murdered at Mauthausen. In a brief speech, Frantisek Miseje recalled the suffering and victims of Czech and Slovak prisoners of the concentration camp and stressed that in view of the threat posed to the socialist countries by U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles and the danger of militarization of space and anti-fascist fighters intensify their struggle for the right of people to live in peace. During his stay in Austria, Frantisek Miseje met in Vienna with secretary-general of the International Federation of Resistance Movements (FIR) Alix Lhote. They had talks on the participation of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-fascist Fighters in FIR actions and on the preparation of the Coordination Committee of the International Association of Former Resistance Fighters and War Veterans. Frantisek Miseje also discussed cooperation with the Austrian Union of Resistance Fighters and victims of fascism with chairman of the union Ludwig Siswinski. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1815 GMT 5 May 85 LD]

CSO: 2020/120

HUNGARY

INDIAN PREMIER ON PAKISTAN, TIES WITH USSR

LD031036 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1925 GMT 2 May 85

[From the "Panorama" program: Interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, by correspondent Gyorgy Kalmar in New Delhi; Gandhi remarks in English with superimposed Hungarian translation; time of interview not given, no video available--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kalmar] I know that you are going to Washington and you will be meeting American leaders. Do you think you will be able to persuade the Americans not to arm Pakistan and to change their attitude toward the Indian subcontinent?

[Gandhi] We will talk to them and we will discuss the situation with them. We will also bring to light the problems as we see them. I have put our standpoint forward very clearly both in parliament and in the course of various interviews. No one can have any doubt in their minds, neither in the United States nor elsewhere in the world, as to what our standpoints are on concrete issues. As far as Pakistan is concerned, our view is--and, perhaps, that is different from the U.S. view--that this particular neighbor of ours is receiving quantities of arms that are far in excess of its needs. We can also see them experimenting with nuclear weapons and we can also see that nothing is being done by anyone to put an end to these tests. We, too, have a nuclear capability but we refrain from the production of nuclear weapons. It is nearly 11 years since we exploded a nuclear device for peaceful use yet we have not developed nuclear weapons. We keep away from that possibility. In our experience the nuclear technology that Pakistan applies in the production of nuclear weapons is not its own but originates mainly in the Western countries.

It is claimed that Pakistan is being armed to counterbalance the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Yet, this is an inconsistent argument in itself. I am sure that it is extremely unpleasant for the Afghan Government that on the other side of the border large well-armed guerrilla forces are stationed. This fact makes all solutions more difficult and more lengthy and the United States should take this fact into account.

[Kalmar] Do you think that there is a possibility that the Americans may change their attitude toward the Indian subcontinent?

[Gandhi] I don't see any possibility of an immediate change. Yet, in the longer term, it is not impossible.

[Kalmar] You want to change a great many things in internal policies, the economy, and in numerous other areas. Do you think that there is also, perhaps a need for a change in Indian-Soviet relations?

[Gandhi] Our relations have always been extremely good. We would like to continue and develop this further. Ours has been a longstanding friendship. In a certain sense it began even before the achievement of our independence. After all, the leaders of the Congress Party watched with great interest the Soviet revolution and the development of the USSR. Later, the USSR became a partner of key importance for us when we established our own industry and developed India's heavy industry. When we had difficulties with other countries, the Soviets helped us in building our steel mills. Later, when this friendship was further developed we signed a friendship treaty and since then our relations have developed even more. I hope that our friendship will become even stronger.

[Kalmar] So, you do not think that these relations should be changed in any respect?

[Gandhi] We can develop cooperation in so many different fields. We can broaden our cultural contacts, increase our trade and we can increase exchanges of all kinds. All this is advancing in a more and more favorable direction.

[Kalmar] In your view, what can be done to improve our relations? If you ask me, I would say that there are still many tasks in this area.

[Gandhi] Yes, indeed, there are a lot of opportunities. Our relations with Hungary are very long-established. They go back to Korosi-Csoma's [Hungarian Indologist] time through Tagore and to one of our best painters, Amritsar Sergilis, who was of Hungarian origin. And even if I just refer to my own family, [name indistinct] Nehru's wife is also Hungarian. We cooperate in the industrial sphere but there are still a great many unexploited opportunities. We should do a great deal more in this area, too. We want to improve our relations in every field. We would like to increase cultural exchange, economic cooperation, and would also like to see more visits between the two countries.

[Kalmar] Does that also include a visit to Hungary by the Indian premier?

[Gandhi] Certainly.

CSO: 2500/362



HUNGARY

BUDAPEST DOMESTIC SERVICE PROGRAM SCHEDULE

LD071353 [Editorial report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1000 GMT on 4 May broadcast the following program announcement:

"As from tomorrow [5 May], Radio Kossuth is to expand its information service at the weekends. From now on, our musical news program, the good morning program, will be broadcast every day, including Sundays. The five o'clock [0300 GMT] news will be followed by music and then, from six to half past seven [0400-0530 GMT] programming will largely adhere to the weekday pattern.

"At six and seven [0400 and 0500 GMT] we shall broadcast news and reports from at home and abroad, at quarter to eight [0545 GMT] Sunday report and travel news. Sports fans should note that the summary of Saturday's sports results will always begin at half past six [0430 GMT].

"The midday chronicle will also be longer and more diverse on Sundays. It will provide a more extensive coverage of the output of news agencies and radio reporters."

Observations on 5 May reveal the following program schedule for Budapest Domestic Service in the period 0300-0630 GMT:

<u>Times GMT</u>	<u>Program Content</u>
0300-0308	News and sports
0308-0355	Music.
0355-0400	TV program preview
0400-0418	Domestic and foreign news and reports
0418-0430	Music
0430-0435	Weather, sports
0435-0445	Music
0445-0450	Feature (on 5 May dealings with mothers day).
0450-0455	Music
0455-0500	Travel news
0500-0518	Domestic and foreign news and reports, press review
0518-0530	Music
0530-0555	Feature about a worker and his family
0555-0600	Program preview
0600-0610	News and sports
0610-0630	Feature: "Seven Days of Five Continents"

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

**LEADERS CONGRATULATE DRA COUNTERPARTS**--Budapest, 26 Apr (MTI)--Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HSWP, and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, cabled their good wishes to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Afghan People's Democratic Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, on the national day of Afghanistan. Gyorgy Lazar similarly greeted Sultan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 26 Apr 85 LD]

**HUNGARIAN TRADE MISSION PRC VISIT**--Budapest, 9 May (MTI)--A Hungarian trade delegation, headed by Dr Zoltan Juhar, minister of internal trade, visited the People's Republic of China from 2 to 9 May. The Hungarian minister of internal trade and Liu Yi, minister of commerce, agreed on the establishment of commercial goods relations and signed an agreement on the exchange of goods in 1985. Under the agreement, China is to deliver peanuts, ready to wear, bales of cotton, shoes, cooking pans and other industrial products. Dr Zoltan Juhar met leading officials of the cities of Guangzhou and Shanghai and the economic zone of Shenzhen and visited industrial, commercial and tourist institutions. The delegation held talks with Han Kehua, director of the Chinese tourist office, and met Tian Jiyun, vice-president of the State Council. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 9 May 85 LD]

**CSSR, GDR AMBASSADORS LAY WREATHS**--Budapest, 8 May (MTI)--A wreath laying ceremony was held at the Soviet Heroes' Monument on the Szabadsag Square in Budapest, on Wednesday. On the occasion of victory day and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia the wreath of the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of Hungary was laid by Ambassador Ondrej Durej and staff members of the embassy. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism the wreath of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic in Hungary was laid by Ambassador Karl-Heinz Lugenheim and staff members of the GDR Embassy. Members of the Czechoslovak and GDR colonies in Hungary also laid the flowers of memory on the monument. Present at the wreath laying ceremony was Vladimir Bazovski, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1052 GMT 8 May 85 LD]

31 May 1985

DEPUTY MINISTER IN AFRICA--(MTI)--Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, held talks on 15-29 April with Daniel Mbanze, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique; with Elijah Mwangale, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Kenya; with State Secretary G. Rutihinda, charge d'affairs of the Foreign Ministry in the United Republic of Tanzania; with Foreign Minister Goshu Wolde of Socialist Ethiopia, as well as with several other members of the governments of the countries. Views were exchanged on bilateral relations and how to improve them, on current questions of the international situation, especially focusing on the problems in Africa. Gabor Nagy was received by the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, and in Addis Ababa by Dr Peter Onu, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity. In Addis Ababa the deputy minister of foreign affairs delivered the aid to the hunger stricken Ethiopian people of the Hungarian Government. [Text] [NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Apr 85 p 3 AU]

KADAR MEETS FOREIGN TRADE LEADERS--Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, met on the parade square with the representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions and with the foreign trade union leaders who participated at the May Day celebrations of the Budapest workers. Janos Kadar said that the parade also reflects the determination of the Hungarian workers to continue to follow the path of socialist construction and that they feel solidarity with the struggle fought in all areas of the world for social progress, freedom of the peoples, and the common interest of the entire world, peace. The MSZMP general secretary asked the participant to convey on their return home the good wishes of the Hungarian people to all the people who are struggling for social progress and freedom of the peoples and who support the cause of peace. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 May 85 p 4 AU]

CSO; 2500/361

POLAND

# PROGRESS, DEBATE OVER SEJM ELECTIONS REVIEWED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 7, 16 Feb 85 pp 1, 10

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski: "For Many Years"]

[Text] Public debate on the outlines of the Sejm's draft electoral law is developing rather sluggishly, without heated polemics. This is strange, for in studies on the popularity of public institutions, the Sejm finds itself in an important third place, after the army and the church. Meanwhile, in a few days, two months already will have passed since the publication of that document, and the deadline designated for contesting the contents of the new electoral law relentlessly approaches. Even the usually active readers of POLITYKA have limited themselves, thus far, to sending six letters or short memos devoted to the electoral law.

The present level of discussion pales in contrast to that of the period of rather tough discussions which preceded the passage of the law in elections to the people's councils. Perhaps H. Anderska, president of the Polish Writers' Association [ZLP], was right in immediately demanding (at the December meeting of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]), on the very eve of the publication in the press of the draft revision of the new law, some changes in it. For what had been publicly proposed, rightly or wrongly, was taken by a part of public opinion as a step ruling out, from the start, any deeper criticism of the project.

No one likes to quarrel if he doesn't see the possibility of his point of view winning. Numerous proposals for choosing this or some other solution do not change such an attitude. In this situation, a modest meeting attended by 50 people (held on 5 February) in the central discussion club of PRON and led by Prof. M. Kozakiewicz was a noteworthy exception, particularly because it assembled people cooperating with PRON or not indifferent to that organization. Much was said here of fundamentals, little of particulars. They associated changes in the electoral law with broader political processes; they displayed concern, but it was without rancor.

## An Important First Step

Where does the project stand in relation to the resolutions of the Congress from May 1983? Where does it stand in relation to the Constitution? There are some

major differences on this score, and this applies even to the first step of the electoral process, i.e., the nomination of candidates for deputy seats. While the resolution speaks of the "public vetting of candidates," the draft law recommends their presentation to the public; while the Constitution calls for the submission of candidates by "political and social organizations," the arrangement under discussion mentions political organizations, but of social institutions it mentions only the most numerous mass organizations--for instance, labor unions, youth, womens' and veterans' organizations.

It is true that the presentation of future deputies has as its objective "the gathering of voters' remarks and opinions about them," but what will be the further fate of critical words, reservations, and protests? For the so-called electoral convention, which is alone authorized to establish electoral lists, may accept them, but may also ignore, reject, or prolong those lists. By this the personal composition of the conventions overlaps itself with the representation of organizations authorized to present candidates. Here too, the representatives of parties and mass organizations will have the final say.

The law on elections to the people's councils permits, however, the withdrawal of a candidate by putting the question to a vote at preelection meetings. The arrangement currently under discussion does not permit that.

Professor Grzegorzcyk (POLITYKA, No 5 of this year) had at that meeting almost the same allies, many voting that PRON should also support the candidates of people who, although unaffiliated, are valuable because of talent, independent thinking, and civic morals beyond research. Mr. Boguszewski and Mr. Wrzosek, in their letters to POLITYKA from two different parts of the country, see it, for instance, like this: "Not denying the good will of many representatives, one must assume that they will represent, above all, the interests of the signatories. But even now it seems that it might be possible to permit the nomination of independent candidates at pre-election meetings in the work place. They would certainly have to accept the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic."

"As an independent, I demand the fulfillment of all these promises for the 'increased participation of independents in governing the country' already in the forthcoming elections to the Sejm."

Research conducted at the time of elections to the people's councils showed that this first step--of putting up candidates--is closely watched and subject to immediate evaluation, and who knows whether this is not what determines attitudes toward the rest of the electoral process. For the opinion exists, based upon decades of voting, of holding plebiscites, but not elections, that he who runs as a candidate--will be elected.

Impulse or Act of Will?

Further questions, which were raised and given convincing answers, concerned the method of voting. Certainly those are correct who say that no voter is forbidden to go behind the curtain and cross out the names as he wishes. However, the law must respect years of experience and tradition since human behavior can distort theoretically reasonable propositions.

A person who enters a sometimes strange voting place and is given a ballot, only sometimes is alone, but most often is in a crowd. It therefore happens that the first impulse is to put one's vote into the ballot box and leave. If it was obligatory to meditate behind the curtain about what is being decided, the impulse would be replaced by an act of conscious thought.

A reader from Bialystok, who wants to remain anonymous, backs up the club discussion with the experience of the Polish hinterlands. He writes: "The key to the democratization of the electoral system, in my opinion, is the introduction of the obligatory secret ballot. The essential meaning of the secret ballot is based, after all, on relieving the voter of fears (however much of these are often imagined) to the effect that his attitude may expose him to some harmful consequences. Experiences of elections to the Sejm prove that 'voting without crossing out and write-ins' ... was considered a proof of support for government policies. This introduced numerous psychological fears in the public mind about using devices designed to protect the secrecy of the ballot casting process. For it is difficult to imagine the head of a gmina or even a postmaster going 'behind the curtain'."

That same doubt arises when one evaluates a so-called mandated seat. Placing a candidate's name on it, when there exists an impulse not to cross out, gives victory to a deputy not as a result of a decision--of an act of will by the voter--but because of an impulse. It is not the best kind of victory for a representative of the people.

This mechanism, retained by the draft law, can be evaluated in strictly legal terms, but one may also look at it broadly, as has been done by K. Baranowski, a colleague from the popular press. In a letter to POLITYKA he most correctly wrote: "If one doesn't know what's what or is lazy, from 1956 on one could have voted without crossing names out. The order of listing names on the ballot automatically decides who will get his vote. It is difficult to understand why we do not appreciate positive voting, based upon the genuine election of a desired candidate. Putting emphasis on crossing out instead of on electing has drastic psychological consequences. Casting a ballot without crossing a candidate's out may--and often does--signify ambivalence, which is an undesirable civil trait, but sometimes evasion of voting is still worse from the social point of view. That is why the ballot should provide the voter with the possibility of positively voting by placing a cross by the name of his desired candidate."

It is interesting that the social criticism of the project is not directed against guaranteeing the dominant representation of the Party in the Sejm, or the appropriate number of places allocated to the political elites, parties, groups, and associations. The so-called regional lists are not questioned, and it is universally known that, in many other countries, the leaders are not jeopardized on the electoral list. Mr. Janiga from Gorlice lucidly explains the reasons for this: "It may be that the social expectations (particularly of some groups or social circles) are such that the elections to the Sejm in 1985 will appoint a whole new leadership team for the central government, but this will not execute another important political postulate, the so-called 'continuity of authority' (for example, the problem of defense,



state secrets, etc.), which in the longer historical and political run may be the most essential for the nation."

The electoral law reveals itself to the participants of the meeting in the PRON club as a collection of rules favoring active, thoughtful and serious attitudes of citizens. In short, it could be said that the voter is the subject and not the object of the electoral law's interest.

How Many Young, How Many Old?

Adequate proportional political representation interests everyone. The necessity of maintaining proper general or territorial proportions is seldom questioned, but it is not at all an insignificant detail which could be limited to the proposed lowering of the age limit of deputies.

But the fact that 50 percent (roughly) of society is 30 years of age or older must be reflected in the Sejm. The reader quoted above also is in favor of an upper age limit for a deputy and puts it at 65 years. That cannot be settled with the election law, but even here numerous senior citizens are asking for reasonable proportions. It is a banal truth that the oldest generation understand the past better than the years ahead, and the Sejm has before it, after all, four long years of rule. Poland doesn't consist only of Warsaw and Silesia, as it was judged in the 1970's. Other historical centers of governmental and political thought (for instance, Poznan, Krakow), must also be honored with deputies in the future Sejm.

The election law will not be passed as a short-term measure. This is a political and institutional decision that will remain in force for a long time, and the election procedure rules will define for many years to come the way in which the people's political representatives are elected to office. The slow and laborious process of putting the nation's house in order and the results of elections to the people's councils converge here with ambitions and desires for the future. The lessons from last year's elections teach us that the most important thing is to persuade the majority to step up to the ballot box, and this majority does not consist of opponents of the authorities or of their consistent apologists, but of the loyal but critical middle-of-the-roaders. Election campaigning that runs counter to the provisions of the election procedures law should not be taken lightly, since people believe that this document decides the composition of the future Sejm.

Certainly, the political centers of the country are responsible for keeping a steady hand on the helm of the ship of state, and even the most noble wishes of the most decent people (who do not bear this responsibility) stand no chance of being fulfilled if the government evaluates the situation in a different way.

The Secretary General of the National Council of PRON, S. Jaskiernia, at the December session devoted to a preliminary evaluation of the main provisions of the electoral law, spoke about the need to maintain a distance from this document. Starting right now, it will be the constitutional duty of PRON, an intermediary between the authorities and the community, to reconcile these two elements as much as possible, of course while fully respecting the resolutions of the Congress. This happened once before (shortly before the endorsement of the law on elections to the people's councils), and, so this gives us reason to have hope.



YUGOSLAVIA

## PROBLEMS IN DEFINING POLITICAL CRIMES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 85 pp 10-11

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "How To Spot a Mockingbird"]

[Text] Is the line between a violation and a criminal offense in cases of nationalistic attack so vague that it is difficult to determine precisely?

"Citizens who sing in public that their nation drinks the blood of another Yugoslav nationality instead of wine, or who publicly praise and exalt Ante Pavelic and Draze Mihailovic, are punished by a magistrate for committing a violation with two months in prison for each infraction," stated Batric Jovanovic at the last meeting of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly (13 February), and on this occasion he asked the federal public prosecutor: "Why is the first case not a question of a criminal offense from article 134 of the Criminal Statutes of the SFRY, inasmuch as this is a dangerous, ultra-chauvinistic attack which provokes and excites national hatred and discord between peoples and nationalities? Why is not the glorification of Ante Pavelic and Draze Mihailovic, inspirators and leaders of the most horrible religious wars in our history, heads of quisling-type, fascist and genocidal ustasha and cetnik formations which killed two-thirds of the Yugoslavs who perished during the Second World War--most often in a most brutal manner--not a criminal offense? What measures is the federal public prosecutor taking to insure that any ultra-chauvinistic expression is criminally prosecuted throughout the entire country in a suitable and uniform manner, that any attempt to glorify or rehabilitate Ante Pavelic and Draze Mihailovic, or ustashas and cetniks, is prosecuted by a suitable and uniform policy?"

### Judges and Standards

Batric Jovanovic will get an answer to his question at the next meeting. But questions like this nevertheless raise some other questions--does this mean that the sentences pronounced in Split and Knin were insufficient for the convicted offenses? Are the judges acting properly in deciding that these were violations and not criminal offenses, or have they been too lenient in their judgements? If it is a question of the latter, are the judges incompetent or is something else involved? Is the boundary between what constitutes a violation and what constitutes a criminal offense so indistinct and so hard to pin down when it must be determined precisely? Is the boundary so unclear

that the same offense will be judged by some people as a violation, while others, who certainly know the whys and wherefores, will claim that it is a criminal offense? Finally, are our judges pronouncing different sentences for the same offense in different parts of the country?

The latter question is not only based on Batric Jovanovic's remark in the SFRY Assembly, but also on some comparisons which have been made here and there--but just in private conversations for now--between sentences pronounced for nationalist attacks in Kosovo, and those pronounced a short time ago in Split and Drnis. Putting it quite simply, is nationalism in Split less dangerous than nationalism in Pristina, can social surroundings and conditions be so influential in the level of punishment? Finally, has someone made a mistake, and if so, who?

To all of these questions, and many others which concern political crime and which have recently been left, so to speak, hanging in the air, the Federal Chamber has not only not given any answers, but has not responded at all. And it could have and should have, because it has had information on political crime for 1983 and for the first half of last year on its agenda. Having been informed, the Federal Chamber has had virtually no discussion on the matter (only one discussant has asked for the floor; he talked about the situation in Kosovo); perhaps it is already tired, perhaps indisposed, but it has certainly shown a complete lack of interest in this problem. The information has been designated as strictly confidential, and journalists--and hence, the public--have not been allowed to inspect it. Indeed, many of those with whom we conversed about this, including delegates, agree that such caution is entirely unnecessary. But that's the way things are. We only know, as Milos Bakic, the federal public prosecutor, recently stated, that approximately 500 people are charged for political crime each year in our country (0.5 percent of all crime), which is certainly not many compared to the number of inhabitants, especially considering that our country is one which is in a messy situation both economically and socially. But although small in number, political crime is known to have "a high degree of social danger, because it disturbs the foundations of society and the system (M. Bakic)."

In contrast to the Federal Chamber, when the Assembly Committees for Internal Policy and Administration of Justice discussed political crime approximately three weeks ago, they brought up many questions which are still considered "ticklish." They proceeded from this basic question: what really constitutes political crime, a precise definition of which has been insisted upon even earlier because, it was stated, it is apparent that in some cases which have been treated as political crime there has been neither the intention nor the premeditation. That is why the committees requested that the courts again examine the concept of this crime and that they make it impossible to assign cases to this category which do not belong there. Experienced lawyers--especially those with a political pedigree--who have performed high federal functions, know that we must prosecute those whose goal is the destruction of the system and the constitutional order as criminals, that we must consistently distinguish this real enemy from those who only respond in a politically inadequate manner, and that one dare not nonchalantly and arbitrarily extend the concept of enemy to those who objectively are not enemies. Experts claim that our "crime of sentiment" in formulating a resolution on enemy propaganda

in an unfortunate manner, with some very drawn-out provisions, like those about "maliciously and falsely describing social and political conditions in the country" with severe punishments of up to ten years in prison, and even with confiscation of property, has remained since the early days of the post-war period when it was necessary to deal not only with political enemies, but with class enemies, when the new society was still weak and very vulnerable. There is no doubt that enemy propaganda is dangerous, but probably no less dangerous for society than when someone is in a position to be able to qualify a certain opinion as malicious and untrue, sometimes only because it differs from the official position. What is a malicious description--this can also be very maliciously described.

In the report of the Committees for Internal Policy and Administration of Justice, there is the following statement: "in comparing data about persons reported, accused, and validly sentenced for criminal offence of political crime, considerable differences were noticed. In connection with this, delegates have emphasized that one can justifiably ask the following question: do not these differences and the lack of uniformity in prosecution policy, and even in penal policy, come about because of different estimations about the level of social danger of criminal offenses of political crime in individual republics and autonomous provinces, which can in no way be permitted" because "lack of a uniform policy of prosecution and punishment simultaneously means lack of uniform application of the law, and thus working people and citizens are brought to an unequal position before the law."

Although aware that individualization of punishment leads to differences in practice (considered to be justified and socially acceptable), although the president of the Federal Court, Stojan Djuranovic, has claimed that, as far as differences are concerned, they are present to an extent in which they are permissible, delegates in the Committees have nevertheless emphasized that other differences are overdue for an explanation "if and to what extent there have been socially unacceptable differences in implementation of penal policy which result from different viewpoints of individual courts on the general level of social danger from political crime under specific political, economic, and other social conditions." The federal public prosecutor, Milos Bakic, cited the example that immediately after the irredentist events in Kosovo, the courts pronounced strict punishments--even too strict--which met with reactions from the public and from official bodies. After this, many of the punishments were revised, reduced, and penal policy was considerably mitigated. When the strict sentences were pronounced, the goal was general prevention--they wanted to emphasize that society was prepared to deal with the enemy. But even then, Bakic stressed, they did not think that these young, indoctrinated people should spend ten, fifteen years in prison.

However, at that time some delegates stressed that such variations in penal policy were putting the work of the courts in a bad light. Mihailo Brajovic mentioned the sentence pronounced to Vojislav Seselj as an example, which was later cut in half (it was reduced from eight to four years in prison), and the trial of the "group of six in Belgrade"--by now well-known and only recently concluded--when during the proceedings two of the defendants were set free, further charges with regard to one defendant were dropped by the

prosecutor because of lack of evidence, and the original charge of the crime of associating for the sake of enemy activity was mitigated to a charge of engaging in enemy propaganda for the remaining three. Such changes can leave one with the bad impression that the courts are subject to pressure to make sentences more severe, and later to mitigate them--they will have to be objective and independent in meting out legal sentences. That is why delegates have insisted on "establishing as completely as possible all relevant factors and circumstances essential both to the existence of a criminal offense and to the qualification of a criminal offense while an investigation is still being carried out. Otherwise, the reputation of our judiciary is in danger, and widespread political damage can result."

Attesting to the fact that these trials have been a great bone of contention not only in judiciary circles, that the public has had certain doubts concerning these matters, that the situation has been tenuous, to put it mildly, are statements made by several high officials who have spoken in ways diametrically opposed to each other concerning the same thing. While some called the accused proven enemies before legal procedures had been properly begun, others made statements like: "I cannot be the judge of other people's opinions," or, "I think that this trial is completely unnecessary." It is interesting to note that these positions are not completely oriented as to locality, that leaders from the same republic have made different statements. Considering the way things work in our system, in which almost complete agreement on positions exists within republics, and disagreement between republics and provinces, this is certainly a rare exception. As has happened regarding other matters, this is one of the areas in which differing positions of our leaders have recently been publicly expressed. But it is not the first time that someone has warned of a lack of uniformity in criminal prosecution of political crime. Three years ago, public prosecutors indicated this at one of their conferences.

Political repression is in constant collusion with social trends, it adapts itself dynamically to circumstances and needs. Our legal system, with many extended formulations and great latitudes in punishments provided for, satisfies these demands well enough. In addition to beneficial effects, however, there can also be those which are undesirable. This dynamic quality can lead to great temptation and to a concept of legality (upon which the discussions in the committees mentioned above were rather insistent), because there may also be some uncertainty in the interpretation of justice and lawfulness. The criminal legal code must insure response in accordance to the social danger, but with regard to the possibility of serious consequences which may arise from improvisation and free interpretation, an element of certainty must also exist: the law must guarantee to a citizen that nothing will happen to him outside of what has already been portended by legal regulations.

Along with all this, one must keep in mind that sanctions by themselves alone, without taking action on the reasons for the appearance of political crime in our country--which most often arises from nationalism--cannot essentially change things, especially with regard to young people. Analyses on Kosovo indicate that 70 percent of those convicted were young people, of whom approximately 40 percent were secondary school and college students, and

12 percent were juveniles. That is why it might not be such a bad idea to end this article with a question which ought to be used to start a new article: "Is what has recently been referred to as 'young people's nationalism,' really only a crime of the young?"

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CSO: 2800/236

31 May 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## SLOVENIAN WRITER KRIVIC REFUTES MUHIC CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 85 p 46

[Letter to the editor by Matevz Krivic: "'Scholarly' Criticism of Dr Fuad Muhic"]

[Text] In his article entitled "Tuzaljka nad zlom sudbinom" ["Lament on Cruelty of Fate"] (DANAS No 152, 15 January 1985), Dr Fuad Muhic engages in "scholarly criticism of the viewpoints of Grafenauer, Pavlovic, Krivic, and those who think like them." Our scholar takes one quote apiece from Niko Grafenauer and Zivojin Pavlovic, and not even one from my own works, and he knows how we think about revolution and that we all think alike. Rather than go to my ideas, he proceeds from Ribicic's response to them, and if Mitja Ribicic says something, why should our scholar require any more proof? Roma Locuta--causa finita!

I will, of course, respond to him only in my own behalf. What Grafenauer and Pavlovic think about the article, I don't know (I do not know Pavlovic personally). Indeed, I in no way agree with the quotation cited from the article by Z. Pavlovic, but of course one quote is not enough to make a judgement about its author. And why the poet Niko Grafenauer should not have talked about the "mutual human fate noted by all ideologically alienated Slovenians" in a poem is not really clear to me. But the main thing is that it is clear to our scholar who can then establish in a scholarly way that not long after this, and in a logical extension to what Grafenauer was trying to say in his ruminations, he raised the question of the rehabilitation of Slovenian domobrans [members of quisling groups in Slovenia during World War II] and the domobran "Rog victims". The fact that this was not the content of Grafenauer's deliberations, but of Muhic's, and the fact that no one has raised the question of the rehabilitation of Slovenian domobrans, least of all myself, does not bother our scholar in the least. It is understandable that it is easier to "polemicize" with an alleged demand for the rehabilitation of domobrans than it is with the actual demand for the acknowledgement of guilt for the illegal and unethical liquidation (mass execution without sentencing, without establishing individual responsibility) of over a thousand domobrans, prisoners of war, who had returned from England after the end of the war. And why did our scholar make the job more difficult for himself instead of easier? His scholarship consists precisely of this!

Only one of the participants in this discussion in Slovenia, Spomenka Hribar, wrote--along with the above cited, but with the explicit treatment of domobrans as criminals!--of the idea of placing an obelisk to all those who died in the war, to those who "died for their homeland," an idea which I reject although I agree that even a criminal has the right to a human burial. But even in the case of Spomenka Hribar, the idea was only proposed in passing--it consisted of 3 sentences in an essay 60 pages long (and by no means did it imply the rehabilitation of criminals and their crimes). But even these three sentences were welcomed by those who were able to obfuscate the essence of the question by creating an uproar over them, and the essence consists of the demand that a crime, committed in the name of a revolution (but without its authority!), be considered a crime. Not in order to give satisfaction to counterrevolutionaries, but in the interest of the revolution and its goals which cannot be implemented fully and satisfactorily with this kind of encumbrance.

These controversial sentences might have merited the corresponding reaction, of course, if the author had published them. But she did not! Warned of their controversial nature (even by myself), she was prepared to omit them or to phrase them in another way, but the editor-in-chief of DELO, Joze Volfand, hurried and published these controversial sentences in DELO without the permission of the author! In other words, what an author had not dared (in spite of two favorable reviews, one of which was written by a prewar revolutionary) to publish in a book which would have 1,000 copies (Kocbekov zbornik, Obzorja, Maribor), someone who was not the author was able to publish in a newspaper with a circulation of 100,000! In order to discredit an undesirable author (by extracting a few sentences from an extensive context and by an appropriately biased commentary), they were able to violate the rights of all authors and the most fundamental standards of the "ethics of public speech." The end justifies the means.

So much about the alleged "raising the question of the rehabilitation of Slovenian domobrans--" and it was not raised by me. I asked another question, that of the responsibility for the illegal liquidation of prisoners of war, a question our scholar terms as being a "moralization" and "value-oriented volunteerism, dependent upon previously selected axiological suppositions." This "value-oriented volunteerism"(!?) of mine proceeds from the axiological supposition that our revolution did not have a Jesuit-Stalinistic basis for the ethical and ideological guiding principle that the end justifies the means, but an ideology about the elevation of humanity in all human relationships to the highest possible level under given circumstances. Proceeding from that assumption, I think that the murder of imprisoned adversaries for whom no court pronounced a death sentence for crimes committed falls below the level of humanity which has been attained in the 20th century, a level which should not only be attained by socialist revolutions as well, but which should be surpassed by them, and if something contrary takes place in reality it should be given complete and open consideration, with the highest level of self-criticism.

However, it presents no difficulty to our scholar to impute to me and my "ilk" the valid apriority of "seeing the revolution as ethical and legal nihilism" in one sentence, and in the next unscrupulously to set down his own position



"that there is no revolution which has not begun and concluded its realization by committing terror against its enemies!" In other words, any terror in the name of revolution is a priori justified and whoever criticizes it is a moralist and an abstract humanist!? With whose ethical and legal nihilism are we really concerned here?

But the culmination of our scholar's "scholarship" is, of course, the assertion that an understanding of the factors of historical events (which remain what they were) is a scholarly category, and, justification or not, valid. Thus, our scholar has thrown out value-oriented categories from scholarship, and has continued, I am certain, to consider himself a Marxist!

For Fuad Muhic, everything that has happened, however brutal, was inevitable--eruptions of irrationality could not have been avoided during moments of revolutionary triumph. Why not? Because the factors of historical events "remain in the way they were, without the possibility of being changed."!? Is this great learning! (In other words, today there is no chance of changing what has already happened.) But this "world of internal factors through whose reciprocal action the essence of the historical moment has been crystallized" (what took place at that time) could have been different at that time than what it was, one can assume, but for a nuance or two, at least if we remain within the limits of Marxist conceptions concerning the role of the subjective factor in given objective circumstances.

Is it so, dear professor, or not?

And there's one more thing to straighten out--those already famous "120,000 collaborationists who were liquidated by masses of infuriated Parisians after liberation from the German occupation in 1944," to which both M. Ribicic and D. Vresnik called our attention. First, there were not 120,000 of them, but, according to official data of the French government in 1951, 9,675, and according to historian Robert Aron, between 30,000 and 40,000 (*Historie de la liberation de la France*, Marabout, 1984, pp. 638-655) [as published]. Secondly, these numbers don't refer to Paris, but to all of France. And thirdly, regardless of the numbers, human anger over traitors is one thing, a spontaneous eruption of revenge for crimes committed (if additional different political and private accounts have not been added to this, and R. Aron says, and he documents, that these exist); it is something completely different when the central authority liquidates en masse, in an organized manner, imprisoned members of quisling formations, among whom were certainly those who had committed war crimes, but among whom there were certainly those who had not (Zoran Polic, in the Ljubljana journal DNEVNIK, 15 December 84, even talks about those "who joined enemy units only during the last few months of combat, who were forcibly mobilized, or who were even incidental fellow travelers in flight across borders.") The former can be humanly understood, and to some extent even approved of, the latter in no way can be justified. And so that it doesn't appear that these thoughts are only the preoccupations of one of Muhic's "abstract humanists," one should quote what Zoran Polic, a member of the highest group of leaders of the Liberation Front in Slovenia during the war, wrote about this matter in the source already mentioned. In spite of a completely different intonation, he wrote, among other things, the following:

"The truth is that we can, and we even must, ask ourselves if the partisans, for their fallen comrades, for their best friends, for their brothers, for their fathers, and for their burned-down homes, had the right to take revenge at the end of the war in a way which was not in accordance with moral and civilized principles, although it was an eruption of accumulated anger and torment which many had carried with them during four long years of suffering, bloodshed, and disorder." And what does the following sentence of his mean: "Although this was a military action completely, the political leadership at that time bears a share of the responsibility, although it did not take part in the action itself, nor did it know that it was being prepared. In its import, this was a political act, which had not, however, been demanded by a political decision, at least not by a decision of the supreme leadership of the Liberation Front" (emphasis M.K.), and I am not going to comment on it.

Finally, there is still one more of Muhic's falsehoods to deal with--that all the well-known petitions for the sake of dissidents (Muhic's term, not mine!) have appeared "in our 'independent' newspapers and 'free universities.'" The petition of 148 Slovenian public workers from 13 June 1984 on the occasion of the arrest of the "group of 28," Seselj and the Belgrade group of six, as well as the death of D. Radovic, etc., has appeared in my mind, but up to now it has not had the occasion of being schooled either in "our independent newspapers," or in "free universities," but in our official newspapers and in our regular universities, in the LCY and in the Socialist Alliance. Yugoslav self-management and democratic socialism can certainly be more proud of the fact that the petition has been additionally published in NOVA REVLIJA than of the fact that the authorized highest organs have still not responded to it up to now, although it is their constitutional duty.

I will not talk specifically about Seselj, his ideas and his trial (about which--excepting, of course, the trial--Dr Fuad Muhic again has much to say). Not because of the fact that I would not have anything to say. I have wanted to give my opinion on this matter, and I would like to now. I even wrote about this very matter (back in July, 1984), but up to now DANAS has not wanted to publish what I had to say. What can we do--we are not all people like Muhic, who can publish anything in DANAS, even the kind of "scholarly" falsehoods which appeared in the last article. Of course, I am not making a complaint against the fact that the aforementioned Muhic article was published, but against the practice of sometimes not publishing other opinions (if there is no reason not to publish them, and such reasons have not been reported to me). I hope that this practice will not be repeated in this case.

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CSO: 2800/236

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG MEETING WITH CONSUMERS ON POLICY, FINANCES

LD082337 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)--It is a great responsibility of communist journalists to direct their energies and actions, through united ideopolitical struggle, toward the consistent implementation of the LC policy in order to further strengthen socialist self-management. This is why an even more resolute effort must be made to defeat any resistance by and pressures from the antisocialist forces and any unacceptable ideopolitical trends and provocations which succeed in penetrating individual newspapers. This was stated today at a meeting of representatives of the TANJUG agency and the directors and chief and executive editors of Yugoslav daily newspapers and radio-television stations by Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, when speaking about the tasks facing our press in the next period. The meeting between representatives of newspaper houses and TANJUG was devoted to the discussion of reciprocal professional and business cooperation.

Editorial policy must be capable of recognizing the presence and ambitions of alien ideologies and systems of value, both bourgeois-liberalist and dogmatic-bureaucratic, and of convincingly opposing all attempts to impose any "alternative" on the LC and to call in question the fundamental values of our revolution, and must also be capable of convincingly opposing any pressures exerted by nationalism. We must tighten the responsibility for any phenomena of this kind in the press, Lolic said. The press must channel its energy, power and influence in society in the next period toward the consistent implementation of the agreed policies, including, above all, insistence on the speedy and efficient realization of the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session. These conclusions must not be allowed to moulder under a layer of dust, as did some in the past. The preparations for the forthcoming congress, Lolic said, are another important task facing the press. We can resolve many of our society's major problems already now without waiting for the congress, because the congress will be most successful if some of the questions facing us are cleared up before it. Lolic also spoke about the need to strengthen the cadre structure in the sphere of information and propaganda activities as a prerequisite for the implementation of these tasks.

Speaking about TANJUG's professional and business cooperation with daily newspapers and radio and television stations, Mihailo Saranovic, director of

TANJUG, said that in the professional sphere this cooperation is on the whole proceeding in a satisfactory manner. There is much scope for joint activity, Saranovic said, noting the possibility of opening joint correspondents' offices abroad or of joint reporting from major events in the country and abroad. In order to ensure more successful cooperation it is necessary to have more frequent exchanges of views not only at the level of the top officials of individual houses, but also at the level of desks and features and also between technical experts. For instance, it would be a good thing if political editors met before the 13th LCY Congress to exchange ideas on reporting on the congress and other political gatherings and preparing for them.

Speaking about business cooperation with newspaper houses Saranovic pointed out the exceptionally difficult and nearly dramatic material position of our news agency, whose coffers, including those for the first 3 months of this year, are quite empty.

While expressing understanding for TANJUG's material problems and support for efforts to approach its position more seriously, the users of TANJUG's services spoke, however, about their own unenviable financial circumstances. Material difficulties, it was stated, are also becoming a political question and are no longer only an economic one. Attention was drawn to the need for a more energetic involvement of the "political factor" in the settling of these problems. It is also necessary to consider organizing an action conference of communists from all the newspapers, which would discuss the information media's material position.

The representatives of the newspaper houses visited today the Josip Broz Tito memorial center and placed flowers on Comrade Tito's grave.

CSO: 2800/320

31 May 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

## KOSOVO SOCIALIST ALLIANCE PRESIDIUUM MEETS

LD102217 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Pristina, 10 May (TANJUG)--At its session today of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium agreed that this sociopolitical organization with the largest membership should take a more immediate and active part in the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session. This activity, which is in fact a continuation of the all-party and public debate, should be intensified in order to avoid unnecessary delay as has happened in some environments. The continued stabilization of the political situation in the province, halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization were judged to be the most crucial tasks arising from these conclusions. If these and other important tasks are to be carried out, the method of the SAWP's activity and work should be changed, it was concluded. Discussing the work of the Kosovo newspaper RILINDIJA, JEDINSTVO and TANA, the SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium agreed that on the whole they have successfully realized their role. Although there were no serious ideological deviations, it was stated, there are still differences in the style of writing of these newspapers, particularly between RILINDIJA and JEDINSTVO. This concerns particularly the way in which some "sensitive" issues, such as the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the political-security situation and changes in the political and economic systems are covered. There was a warning to the effect that these differences make the settling of the situation in the province more difficult, and are even to the advantage of irredentists and other nationalist forces. JEDINSTVO was mentioned in this context for having reacted prematurely to the case of Djordje Martinic from Gnjilane.

The Presidium also endorsed the proposal to the effect that Dr Aleksandar Grlickov be elected president of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. The candidacy of Branislava Tvrdic for the post of president of the SAWPY Federal Conference for the Social Activity of Women was also approved.

CSO: 2800/320

YUGOSLAVIA

'STABLE PUBLIC ORDER' SECURED IN SERBIA

LD110118 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)--The security situation in the territory of Serbia is favorable on the whole, despite attempts by groups and individuals, both external and internal, to cause significant disturbances in the republic and the country. This was stated at today's press conference at the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs held on the occasion of 13 May--Security Day.

Our society is going through one of the more difficult phases of development due to the serious problems it faces. The conditions for various ideological and other influences, including nationalist phenomena, different forms of leftist activity, fault-finding, and other deviating forms of behavior, have been created, Svetomir Lalovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Serbia, stressed.

People are becoming ideologically disoriented as a result of the influence exerted on them by opponents of the constitutional system, who are offering their own platforms. Nationalism, which has grown even stronger and is present in nearly all environments, encourages national sensitivity and distrust among the nations and nationalities. Nationalists of all hues and characteristics try to present "their" nation as deprived, handicapped, or exploited, while expressing intolerance of other peoples. There is an increased number of group, fascist-like attacks, challenges to fratricide, and nationalist excesses during sporting events and festivities.

Extremists from religious communities are also not keeping quiet. According to Lalovic, they act increasingly frequently outside the framework of the Constitution and the law, finding new ways to politicize believers. They are particularly addressing young people, trying to win them over for their aims. Individuals are encouraging national intolerance and the resurgence of fascist ideas, while openly attacking socialism. It is not difficult to draw the conclusion that the basic aim of such activity is to lead the church into a partnership with the state and thus acquire the right of a political subject and secure its influence over social movements.

In such conditions of increasing activity and linking of internal and external enemies directed at changing the country, particularly at belittling all the values and gains of the revolution, including the image and work of President

Tito, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs has reacted in an energetic manner. There has been cooperation with provincial secretariats with regard to all the matters of interest for the security of the whole republic. Special efforts were directed in the previous period at revealing and preventing pressures and at halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Satisfactory results have also been achieved in the field of public security. The number of criminal acts committed by unknown perpetrators has been reduced, as well as the total number of offenses, securing a stable public order and peace.

CSO: 2800/320



YUGOSLAVIA

BILIC ADDRESSES CROAT TU AKTIV

LD102208 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 10 May 85

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 10 May (TANJUG)--Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke today to members of the Croat trade union aktiv on the realization of the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session and on the priority tasks of the trade-union federation and their realization in everyday action.

At the present moment, the trade union is taking its historic test to mobilize working people in order to increase production, as the only means of overcoming as quickly as possible the existing economic difficulties, Jure Bilic stressed. The difficulties with which we are faced are great, but they are not insurmountable. However, the confusion and chaos in our society are greater than the real difficulties. On the one hand there are relics of the old belief that one can spend more than the material base allows, and on the other there is a degree of pessimism frequently emphasized by the press with regard to finding a way out of the difficulties.

The truth lies in surmounting both of these beliefs. With regard to the general mobilization of all working people aimed at increasing productivity we must say that this situation can only be overcome by work and increased production. Exports must become our lasting orientation and our imperative task. Alongside all this it is necessary to introduce more order, responsibility, and fellowship in our work. Responsibility must not be a fiction or a slogan but must find concrete application. To those who do not behave in keeping with the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session we must resolutely say that they do not belong to our ranks and we must make them see that we can no longer entrust them with carrying out their tasks successfully.

CSO: 2800/320

YUGOSLAVIA

DJURANOVIC, SUKRIJA RECEIVE SECURITY SERVICES DELEGATION

LD102051 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)--On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Veselin Djuranovic and Ali Sukrija today received a delegation of the security organs and services led by Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs. The reception, held to mark 13 May, security day, was also attended by Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Dusan Alimpic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and other officials of the Federation. They all congratulated the delegation and all members of the security service on their holiday, security day.

Addressing the officials of the security organs and services President Djuranovic said, among other things:

"When commemorating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and of our freedom we can rightly say that the courageous accomplishments by members of the security service in the war and in peace-time are a brilliant example of how the interests of a people and its freedom should be served, how the achievements of its revolution and its struggle should be defended, and how the enemy should be defeated. They exemplify loyalty and love toward our socialist country and its freedom. This is also an occasion to remember those 2,000 glorious members of the security service who died since 9 May 1945 while defending new Yugoslavia from the attacks by enemies of various hues.

The exceptionally important role which the security service organs, as protectors of the achievements of our revolution and our constitutional order, played during the national liberation struggle and in the decades of the building of socialist society in our country, is inseparably interwoven with our nations' and nationalities' heroic struggle for their national and social liberation; with the formation, development and the consolidation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Just as members of the security service, during the most difficult times of our national liberation war, demonstrated their courage and revolutionary enthusiasm in the struggle against the enemies of our revolution and the new organs of people's power, at present, when internal and external enemies are

trying to take advantage of our internal difficulties in order to realize their sinister goals, you are faced with responsible tasks and great obligations for whose accomplishment you also need courage, great skills, and a high degree of revolutionary responsibility. We, in fact, have no reason to exaggerate the danger which these forces can cause since our state and our self-managing social system, despite their shortcomings and faults, are so strong and capable that all those who think that they can destabilize us harbor futile hopes. On several occasions so far our working people have asserted their full readiness to defend our freedom, won at a high price, and our socialist social order.

However, it would be dangerous to underestimate the activity from hostile positions and the possible damage that could be caused us since, among other things, that activity is being fueled by various external factors. Numerous forms of the special war, propaganda, and terrorism, are increasingly used by external reactionary forces and are planned in such a way as to correspond to certain external factors' long-term strategic goals vis-a-vis our country. To this purpose anti-Yugoslav emigre organizations abroad as well as anti-socialist elements at home are being used in various ways. All this should be put in the context of the unfavorable economic situation in the country and a whole series of open issues which should be promptly settled, of the fall in the standard of living and so forth, all of which foment working people's dissatisfaction, have an unfavorable effect on the political-security situation in the country, and even create scope for intensified activity by certain groups and individuals from antisocialist positions. It is therefore vital that we assume a more fighting attitude and are more efficient in solving pressing social problems. We have the situation in our hands and must not allow time to outrun us and the event to surprise us.

We must be particularly uncompromising in the struggle against all aspects of nationalism, separatism, unitarism, clericonationalism, and irredentism. All this imposes enhanced tasks and responsibilities upon our security organs. Within their legal powers and in keeping with their very responsible role in society, with full cooperation and concerted activity by all security organs and services, and relying on the system of social self-protection, they are duty-bound to monitor the trends and the essence of social events and, fully aware of political limits [as received] to recognize on time destructive activity from positions hostile to our constitutional system and to take efficient measures to protect our social order."

In his statement, Dobroslav Culafic placed emphasis on the skills and full preparedness of the security service and its members to perform the tasks of defending the achievements of our revolution and of protecting our working people and citizens' free and peaceful life within their constitutional and legal powers and duties.

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END